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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1022



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# USSR REPORT

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NATIONAL.

## PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' ARMED FORCES

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 6, 1979 pp 75-83

[Article by V.P. Gayevskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences: "The International Nature and Essence of the Victorious Proletariat's Armed Forces"]

[Text] The problems of war and peace occupy a special place among the current problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. They are the focus for the ever increasing opposition of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction, militarism and imperialism on the other hand. The CPSU report to the 25th party congress emphasized that at the present time it is becoming more and more important to investigate scientifically the fundamental problems of world development and international relations, including the opposition of forces on the main issue of our time--the issue of war and peace (See "Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1976, p 73). The Communist Party of the Soviet Union consistently and persistently implements the Peace Program, which was worked out by the 24th CPSU Congress and developed by the party's 25th congress. The Leninist policy of peace has found legal substantiation in the USSR Constitution.

While struggling to prevent a new war and to consistently implement the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, the CPSU and the other fraternal parties constantly take into account the aggressive nature of imperialism. Even today V.I. Lenin's tenet that "in general imperialism is the aspiration towards violence and reaction" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 27, p 388). The intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the sharp exacerbation of its inherent conflicts increase its aggressive aspirations and adventurism, and they promote the growth of militarization. A document adopted by the participants in the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe stated: "The policy of imperialism, neocolonialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation remain the main threat to peace, independence and people's equal rights" ("In Support of Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe: Results of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe,"



Moscow, 1976, p 28). Recent events confirm the conclusion drawn by the European forum of communists. Imperialists are openly interfering in the internal affairs of many countries. A dangerous situation exists in a number of regions of the world, particularly in the Middle East. The build-up of troops and arms on the European continent continues. In the area of military detente and disarmament effective agreements have not been reached, and this--as was emphasized by the declaration of Warsaw Pact members adopted at the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee held in Moscow on 23 November 1978--poses a threat to the development of increasing security in Europe (See PRAVDA, 24 November 1978).

The arms race, which has encompassed the leading capitalist countries, is accompanied here by anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Every possible fabrication about the "Soviet threat" is being disseminated; attempts are made to distort the meaning of the relaxation of international tension and to slander the peace-loving policy of the Warsaw Pact nations. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "Concerning the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" emphasizes that in this situation "it is essential to act with all decisiveness in exposing the imperialist preachers of 'cold war,' the exacerbation of international tension and the arms race, which threatens to bring the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. It is essential to uncover the anti-popular, antihumanistic essence of modern capitalism, the predatory nature of the policy of neocolonialism and the true nature of the hypocritical defenders of 'rights' and 'freedoms.' It is essential to expose the hegemonic, great-power course of the Beijing rulers, their aggressive aspirations and their attempts to close ranks with the forces of imperialism, reaction and war" (Moscow, 1979, p 8). In conducting such a policy the imperialists want to hinder the development of the world revolutionary process, to weaken the positions of the countries in the socialist alliance and to hold back the building of developed socialism and communism in these countries. In this situation there arises with all seriousness the question of restraining imperialism's aspirations and of protecting the gains of socialism.

The Soviet Union, like the other countries of the socialist community, is doing everything possible to provide the conditions for peaceful construction. In socialist society there are no classes or social groups which are interested in unleashing wars. War and military preparations go against the basic goals of socialism. As the 25th CPSU Congress noted, "socialism and peace are inseparable" (Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, p 33).

Guided by the Leninist tenet that "any revolution is only worth something when it is able to defend itself" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 37, p 122), the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries view the reliable defense of socialism as their international obligation. The armed forces in the countries of the victorious proletariat are fulfilling this obligation in a worthy manner. The armies of the socialist countries are the armies of proletarian internationalism.

K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, revealed the historical mission of the working class, and in so doing they demonstrated the indissoluble link between the national and international interests of the working people of various countries. They posed for the first time the question of the armed defense of the gains of socialism and the role of proletarian internationalism in this defense. K. Marx and F. Engels came to the conclusion that the proletarian revolution would not be a transitory act; it would inevitably involve a long period of time, and it would develop from a bitter struggle by the working class against the bourgeoisie (See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," second edition, Vol 8, p 431). And in order to act energetically and effectively against their class enemies, the workers must be armed and organized (See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," second edition, Vol 7, pp 263-264).

The essence of proletarian internationalism is the unity of the working class in the struggle to liberate all working people from capitalist oppression, to build and defend socialism and communism, and this unity arises from the social conditions--both domestic and international--of the proletariat's existence. And as these conditions change, the specific content of proletarian internationalism also changes with the development of social life and the world revolutionary process; however, the essence of this content remains the same. K. Marx and F. Engels expressed the essence of internationalism in their appeal "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

V.I. Lenin developed and extended the theory of proletarian internationalism and he applied it in practice. Proletarian internationalism acquired new features with the emergence of the political party of the working class; the party made proletarian internationalism the foundation of its activities.

Since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the socialist revolutions which subsequently took place in other countries, proletarian internationalism has become the guiding policy principle of the working class in its state organization. Before the October Revolution, it united the working class only for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist order, but since that victory it has been aimed at the creation of a socialist society. Proletarian internationalism's sphere of action is expanding. It is spreading to all spheres of the life of the society of the victorious proletariat, including the socio-political, economic, moral, cultural, diplomatic and military spheres, etc.

The new stage in the development of proletarian internationalism began with Great October and was characterized by the fact that not only the Russian, but also the international proletariat had found its fatherland; a massive movement of working people in the capitalist countries began to support the young Republic of the Soviets. V.I. Lenin called for the closest possible union of the Soviet republics

in order to protect their existence in the face of world imperialism, and he emphasized that the preservation and consolidation of this union is a measure which "is necessary to us, as it is necessary to the world communist proletariat for the struggle against the worldwide bourgeoisie and for protection against its intrigues" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 45, p 360).

Because the Soviet Union arose as a multinational state, its army has been since the moment of its inception a multinational one built on principles of internationalism. "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," said M.V. Frunze, "is a union of the working people of various nationalities. The Red Army, as its reflection, is not a national army, it, too, is a union, a fighting union, in which the working people of all our Soviet republics send their sons to study military affairs and, hand in hand, and to guard as a single friendly family the Soviet land" (M.V. Frunze, "Selected Works," Moscow, 1965, p 278).

Since the very beginning of its existence the efforts of the Soviet state have been directed at strengthening solidarity and at creating close unity among the workers of all countries, at establishing the equal rights of national groups, at supporting the national-liberation struggles of oppressed peoples and at struggling decisively against the aggressive policy of imperialism and in support of peace and security for people. The USSR Constitution legally establishes that the USSR citizen has an international duty "to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of all countries and the maintenance and consolidation of universal peace" (Article 69). This article also applies fully to the USSR Armed Forces. They are inseparable from our multinational socialist state and embody historically unprecedented relations of friendship and fraternity among all the national groups and peoples of the Soviet Union. "Our armed forces," said L.I. Brezhnev, "are a single, friendly family, the living embodiment of socialist internationalism" (L.I. Brezhnev, "The Leninist Way: Speeches and Articles," Vol 4, p 61). This is a very important feature of the forces. Our army is an army of fraternity and friendship among the peoples of our country, among the peoples of the socialist countries and among the peoples fighting for national and social liberation. Internationalism is part of the very nature and the historical mission of the armed forces of the socialist state. While bourgeois states and their armies serve the interests of the ruling reactionary classes by suppressing the people of their country, by conducting aggressive wars and enslaving other peoples, the socialist states and their armed forces are the instrument of the working masses, the instrument to protect the gains of the socialist revolution, to protect socialism and the creative labor of the workers and peasants. The Soviet Army, in defending the socialist Fatherland, has acted since the moment of its inception as an army of international solidarity of the working people. V.I. Lenin wrote that we were victorious because we had the sympathy of the working masses throughout the world (See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 42, p 312). During the

years of the civil war and the foreign intervention 220,000-250,000 international fighters fought brilliantly in the ranks of the Red Army for the power of the soviets (See L.I. Zharov and V.M. Ustinov, "International Units of the Red Army in the Battles for the Power of the Soviets During the years of Foreign Military Intervention and Civil War in the USSR," Moscow, 1960, p 51). They fought heroically side by side with the workers and peasants of multinational Soviet Russia.

V.I. Lenin placed a high value on the movement of the internationalists. Speaking to soldiers of the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment who were leaving for the front he said: "I think that we, Polish as well as Russian revolutionaries, are now burning with the same desire to do everything possible to defend the gains of the first powerful socialist revolution, which will inevitably be followed by a series of revolutions in other countries" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 37, p 24).

The Soviet Army won the love and respect of the international proletariat and its avanguard--the communist parties. The Communist International devoted constant attention to the army. At the initiative of the Comintern, communist parties became sponsors for Red Army Units. For example, the Communist Party of Germany became the ideological sponsor of the Second Chernigov Division of the Chervonny Cossacks; 26 members of the party's Central Committee, including K. Tsetkin, E. Tellman, and V. Pik were registered as honorary members of this Red Army division. The French Communist Party became the sponsor of the first division of the Chervonny Cossacks. The Communist Party of Finland sponsored the 29th rifle division. In coming to the defense of the Soviet state, the working people of the entire world proceeded from the idea that this state was not only an example of the real embodiment of socialist ideals, the implementation of which they were fighting to achieve in their own countries, but also the bulwark of all the revolutionary fighters for freedom and social justice; the future fate of all laboring humanity depended to an enormous degree on the firmness and might of this bulwark. A resolution of the 4th Comintern Congress noted: "...Any strengthening of Soviet Russia, the world's first state of the workers means the strengthening of the international proletariat in the struggle against its class enemy--the bourgeoisie" ("The Communist International: A Short Historical Sketch," Moscow, 1969, p 177).

The internationalist character of the army of the socialist state manifests itself not only in the defense of its own fatherland, but also in the real and comprehensive assistance which it renders to other revolutionary detachments of the international proletariat, and to the workers fighting against imperialism. In 1919, when a revolution took place in Hungary and the Hungarian Soviet Republic was declared, the Hungarian Red Army at that time included several international units. A Russian battalion, which had more than 1,000



soldiers and commanding officers, defended the just cause along with their Hungarian class brothers.

In 1921 the Mongolian people expelled invaders from their land with direct military support from the Soviet country; Mongolia embarked on a path of noncapitalist development. In 1939 the Red Army fought shoulder to shoulder with soldiers of the People's Revolutionary Army of Mongolia to defeat the Japanese interventionists who had encroached on the Mongolian People's Republic.

Faithful to its international duty, the Soviet Union and its armed forces extended great political, moral and military assistance to the Chinese people at all stages of their struggle for their freedom and independence.<sup>1</sup> In 1936-1938 the Soviet people decisively came to the defense of republican Spain. Dolores Ibarruri, chairman of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, emphasized that "the Spanish people will never forget the generous and selfless assistance which they received from the Soviet Union at a dramatic period....the Spanish people have every reason to consider the Soviet Union a good friend; they know that without Soviet tanks and airplanes the defense of Madrid would have been impossible, that without Soviet assistance the fascists would have quickly carried out their plans" ("Marxism-Leninism on Proletarian Internationalism," Moscow, 1969, pp 288-289).

Proletarian internationalism manifested itself with particular force during the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union against the German fascist aggressors (1941-1945). This was the most acute class struggle against the enemies of socialism, and it touched the vital interests not only of the people of our country. The working people of other countries were also deeply interested in the defense of the world's first socialist state because in this war the fate of all humanity was also being decided. In the period of the Great Fatherland War the high ideals of internationalism, the international fraternal solidarity with working people fighting for freedom and independence was characteristic of the entire staff of the Armed Forces. Once again there was confirmation of V.I. Lenin's words that "our army was composed of selected elements, politically conscious peasants and workers. Each one brings to the front a consciousness that he is fighting for the fate not only of the Russian but also of the entire international revolution...." (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 37, p 76).

Having defeated and expelled the German fascist invaders from its own country, the Soviet Army began and triumphantly completed the great

1. For more detail on this subject see; V.M. Primakov. "Zapiski volontera. Grazhdanskaya voyna v Kitaye" /Notes of a Volunteer. The Civil War in China/, Moscow, 1967; "Vidnyye sovetskiye kommunisty--uchastniki kitayskoy revolyutsii" /Prominent Soviet Communists Who Participated in the Chinese Revolution/, Moscow, 1970.

liberation march; it brought to the peoples of Europe deliverance from Hitler's tyranny, and it saved the sovereignty of many states and the integrity of many national groups. During the war years the Soviet Armed Forces liberated--at the cost of enormous casualties--fully or partly the territory of 12 countries with a total area of 2.5 million km<sup>2</sup> and a population of more than 180 million. More than 1 million Soviet soldiers died in these battles. However, the total losses of Soviet troops, including the injured and missing, exceeded 3 million (See "The Liberation Mission of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Second World War," Moscow, 1974, p 455).

During the Great Fatherland War the foundations were laid--with the assistance of the Soviet Union--for the modern socialist armies of the European countries; their international fighting fraternity was forged. Formations and units from the countries which are now part of the world system of socialism were formed in the USSR. By the end of the Great Fatherland War the total number of foreign troops, who had been formed into units within the USSR reached several thousands. Expenditures to maintain the troops of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Yugoslavia totaled several billion rubles (See I.I. Yakubovskiy, "The Fighting Alliance," Moscow, 1971, p 26).

The young armies of these countries responded to this international assistance with proletarian solidarity. Troops from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, as well as Hungarian volunteers and, at the end of the war, Bulgarian and Rumanian units, fought brilliantly--shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army--against the common enemy. The victory of the Soviet people and their armed forces in the Great Fatherland War created favorable conditions for the achievement of socialist revolutions in a number of countries in Europe and Asia. Our army extended invaluable assistance to the Chinese people in the completion of their national-liberation struggle, having destroyed the (Kwantung) Army--more than a million strong--of Japan.

Bourgeois ideologues, revisionists and Maoists are attempting to falsify the historical facts; they are trying to downplay the contribution of the Soviet Army to the liberation of the peoples of Europe from fascist slavery, and they are spreading slanderous fabrications about the Soviet Union. But they will not succeed in deceiving the peoples of other countries, which have more than once become convinced that the Soviet Army and the armies of the other socialist states stand firmly for the principles of proletarian internationalism. These are armies of liberators, armies of social progress, the bulwark of the revolutionary forces of modern times, and they are a reliable barrier to the path of imperialist aggression. They were created and exist in the interests of the working masses.

After the Second World War fundamental changes in the alignment of forces in the international arena took place. The formation of the world system of socialism constituted a very important historical event.

The national liberation movement achieved success and broad scale. There was a new upswing in the international communist and workers movement. The alignment of forces changed in favor of socialism.

All this aroused fear and fierce spite in the camp of our enemies. Soon after the Potsdam agreement international imperialism, and primarily the U.S. imperialists, began preparations for a new world war. Under the aegis of the USA aggressive military-political blocs were put together; they were aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In 1949 the North Atlantic bloc--NATO--was created; it is the most powerful and aggressive military group in the imperialist camp.

The countries of socialism, guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism in foreign policy, were forced to create their own fighting alliance in the form of the Warsaw Pact (May 1955). This was required by the situation which had developed. This was taught to us by V.I. Lenin, who said in reference to the peoples who had embarked on a path of socialist development that "it is essential to have a close military and economic alliance because otherwise the capitalists... will knock us down and strangle us one by one" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 40, p 46). The conclusion of the Warsaw Pact was supported by other socialist states, by Marxist-Leninist parties and by the progressive forces of the entire world. This pact reliably defends the gains of socialism, the sovereignty and independence of the fraternal states. It is aimed at strengthening European security and at preserving the universal peace; it is an international defensive alliance of the socialist states.

The international essence of the socialist armies manifests itself first of all in the communality of their mission, which is the collective defense of the gains of socialism and communism. It is also manifested in the decisive opposition which these armies present to the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists; they provide a reliable defense of people's rights, and they extend help of all kinds to them in their struggle for freedom and independence. For example, the fraternal socialist countries were of great assistance to the Korean People's Democratic Republic in its war of liberation against the imperialist invaders in 1950-1953. The help of the Soviet Union and its army in defeating armed counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956 was of enormous significance for the fate of world socialism; the counterrevolution was prepared by the internal Hungarian reaction and was unleashed by it with direct incitement and assistance from the imperialist powers. Faithful to their international duty, the Warsaw Pact member nations decisively came to the defense of the German Democratic Republic, when it was threatened by imperialism in the summer of 1961. The socialist states were firm and decisive in their actions to defend revolutionary Cuba in the fall of 1962. Joint actions by the Pact armies in August 1968 were of help to the Czechoslovak people in frustrating actions in the center of Europe by means of which imperialism was hoping to breach

the socialist community and to change the alignment of forces in the international arena in its own favor.

The help and support of the fraternal countries of socialism constituted one of the deciding factors in the Vietnamese people's successful struggle against American aggression. The victory of the Vietnamese people is a triumph of the effective, fighting solidarity of the countries of socialism.

The forces of reaction, which unleashed the "cold war" immediately after the Second World War, miscalculated. "Socialism," noted L.I. Brezhnev, "was neither suppressed nor weakened. The mighty force of socialist solidarity made the community of states united in the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Development one of the most powerful bodies in international life. Its policies became a deciding factor in the defense of the interests of peace and the independence of peoples" (L.I. Brezhnev: "The Leninist Way: Speeches and Articles," Vol 5, pp 290-291).

In our times, international unity in the defense of the socialist countries is inextricably linked with the granting of assistance to the national liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, to the progressive young states which have already thrown off the colonial yoke and to all the peoples which have been subjected to imperialist aggression. L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that "we are helping and shall continue to help those fighting against imperialist interference in the affairs of peoples; we shall help the victims of imperialist aggression. The forms which this assistance will take can be very different depending on circumstances; it can be political, diplomatic, economic or military assistance, but the content is always the same: repulse the aggressors, protect the rights of peoples to develop independently, protect the cause of peace and the security of peoples, and in this way the interests of socialism" (L.I. Brezhnev, "The Leninist Way: Speeches and Articles," Vol 2, p 128).

The countries of socialism played an exceptionally important role in the failure of the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956, in the failure of imperialist conspiracies against Syria in 1957 and in the defeat of imperialist intervention against Iran and Jordan in 1958. The peoples of the Arab countries, which were subjected to Israeli aggression in 1967 will never forget the solidarity and assistance provided by the countries of the socialist community. And at the present time this solidarity is helping these peoples in the struggle for the return of all the territories seized by the aggressor. The socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union played a great role in the liquidation of the 1971 India-Pakistan conflict and the formation of the independent state of Bangladesh. The countries of socialism extended assistance to the Angolan people in the protection of the achievements of the national-liberation revolution, and it contributed to the defeat of imperialism's aggressive intentions



against socialist Ethiopia. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community extend aid and support to progressive young states-- to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in their struggle against imperialism and the Chinese aggressors and for freedom and social progress. At an international theoretical conference held in Sofia, T. Zhivkov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of People's Republic of Bulgaria said: "It is as impossible to imagine the creation of the world socialist community without the existence of the Soviet Union as it is impossible to imagine the revolutionary victories over imperialism achieved by the peoples of Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, Afghanistan and other countries without the existence and successful development of the socialist community (PRAVDA, 13 December 1978).

In accordance with an agreement made with the leadership of the German Democratic Republic and after consultations with other socialist member countries of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union presented a new initiative concerning the unilateral reduction in the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe (See PRAVDA, 7 October 1979).

The socialist countries which are part of the Warsaw Pact Organization have repeatedly presented initiatives concerning a simultaneous halt in activities by the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This initiative was expressed with new force in the declaration by Warsaw Pact member states adopted at a meeting of the Political Advisory Committee in Moscow on 23 November 1978. The participants in the meeting proposed a whole series of measures aimed at halting the arms race, eliminating the fact of tension, and at concluding a worldwide agreement concerning the non-application of force in international relations, etc. All progressive people on the Earth support the peace-loving initiatives of the Warsaw Pact participant states, because these initiatives are in the vital interests of the working masses. However, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, and primarily the NATO countries headed by the USA, do not intend to give up the arms race; they are proceeding with creation of more new types of mass destruction weapons. The NATO countries, in working out a long-term program for the arms race, stipulate an annual increase in the military budgets of each country of 3 percent up to the 21st century (See KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 16 December 1978). For this reason the significance of the Warsaw Pact increases because imperialism is not giving up its criminal plans; it is expanding the arms race and strengthening its aggressive NATO bloc.

Experience shows that the unity of the national and international constitutes the basis for the military might of the world socialist system and the reliable guarantee of its defense. The essence of this unity resides in the constant interaction of the efforts of each socialist state, and primarily the Warsaw Pact participant states, in the strengthening of the military might of their national armed forces on

the one hand and the strengthening of the international military cooperation of the socialist countries and the fighting alliance of their armies on the other hand. The inexorable resolve of the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries to further strengthen military cooperation, to undertake and perfect collective measures for the reliable defense of the achievements of socialism is established in the jointly worked out treaty agreements. A deviation from these agreements would mean a betrayal of the cause of socialism, a failure to live up to the hopes and aspirations of the peoples.

The Soviet Union has done everything possible for the further closing of ranks in the defensive alliance of the socialist armies; it has helped the fraternal countries to increase their defense capability. In our country a developed socialist society has been built under the leadership of the CPSU. A historically new community of people--the Soviet people--has been born. And this has led to the formation of a patriotic feeling--so rich in meaning--of national pride in the Soviet person. The proletarian, socialist internationalism of Soviet citizens and the commonality of their ideology makes our Soviet patriotism internationalism. And this results in the further strengthening of the country's defense; it lifts to a new level the international foundation of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces. There are certain general Soviet features which are characteristic of our fighters, regardless of their nationality: devotion to the cause of communism, love of the socialist Motherland and hatred of its enemies, internationalism, collectivism, comradeship, conscientious fulfillment of their military duty, bravery and courage. The Soviet Army and the USSR Navy are now an international social body. All USSR males, regardless of race and national membership, education, residence, social and material position take part in active military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces. Our constitution says that the defense of the socialist Fatherland is the concern of all the people. "Military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces is an honorable obligation of Soviet citizens" (Article 63). The ideas of internationalism have been transformed into the profound internal conviction of every Soviet person; and this has invaluable significance for the process by which national groups are brought closer together and cooperation among them is increased.

Present-day imperialist propaganda uses every possible means in its efforts to support and stir up manifestations of nationalism, to sow mistrust among the socialist peoples and in this way to undermine the friendship of peoples, the unity of the people and the army, which is the most important source of the might and strength of our multinational state and its armed forces. For example, the reactionary French historian M. Garde in his book "The History of the Soviet Army" attempts to find antagonism among representatives of the various national groups within the army and conflicts among the individual groups of service men. These attempts are in vain. There is no place

for privileges to be granted to the representatives of any national group within the ranks of the armed forces of the socialist countries. Our party and the other fraternal parties are firmly implementing the Leninist national policy, and they view the international indoctrination of the people and the army as one of their most important tasks.

The international essence of the Soviet Armed Forces and the armed forces of other socialist countries stands in opposition to the nationalistic, chauvinistic nature of capitalist armies, which are called on to defend the supremacy of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, to carry out aggressive wars for the purpose of enslaving foreign countries and peoples.

In fulfilling its patriotic and international duty, the USSR Armed Forces and the armed forces of the other socialist countries are doing everything in their power to ensure the reliable defense of the gains of the working people, the cause of peace, socialism and communism. Proletarian internationalism, which is the basis for the activities of the communist and workers parties, finds its reflection in social practice, in the mutual relations between countries and peoples, and in their unity in the struggle for the end goals of the working class; it is the foundation for the international nature and essence of the armed forces of the victorious proletariat.

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## NATIONAL

### WORKING PEOPLE'S INITIATIVES SPUR GEORGIAN ECONOMIC SUCCESSSES

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 1, 1980 pp 3-16

[Article by E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee: "The Georgian Communist Party's Struggle for the Realization of Lenin's Ideas on the Development of the Initiative of the Working People's Masses"]

[Text] Revealing the world-historical significance of the Great October, V. I. Lenin, creator of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state, observed: "Our revolution is different from all previous revolutions precisely in that it has generated a thirst for construction and creative work in the masses."<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Il'ich described this live creativity of the working people's masses freed from social and national oppression as "the basic factor of the new disposition to public work."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time Lenin by no means regarded the masses' initiative in the creation of new forms of life as something spontaneous and uncontrolled. The loyal and staunch follower of Marx and Engels, he comprehensively revealed the significance of the party of the working class in combining the scientific theory of socialism with the most extensive practical work of the people's masses and in educating and organizing the working people for the struggle both to overthrow the system of exploitation and oppression and to create a communist society. The CPSU Central Committee decree "110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth" says: "Lenin's greatest historical service was his creation of a proletarian party of a new type--the life embodiment of the inseparable unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice and the inspiration and leader of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society.... The world-historical result of the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet people to put Lenin's ideas into practice was the building of the developed socialist society, in which the constructive forces of the new system and its truly humane essence are being revealed increasingly fully."<sup>3</sup>

Lenin saw the party's close link with the people and its ability to draw closer to and, to a certain extent, merge with the broadest mass of working people and enhance their energy, heroism and enthusiasm, concentrating the revolutionary strenuous efforts on the most important priority tasks, as the

principal source of the victories of the Soviet power. "It was thus, in Leninist fashion," the CPSU Central Committee decree says, "that the party acted in the building and defense of socialism in a single country in a position of hostile capitalist encirclement. It was thus that it acted in the creation of the first society of developed socialism on earth. It is thus that it will continue to act."<sup>4</sup>

There is an increase in the dimensions and complication of the tasks of constructive activity and increasingly broad people's masses are enlisted in conscious historical creation at the stage of mature socialism. This gives rise to an unswerving increase in the role of the Communist Party--the leading and directing force of Soviet society--and confronts the party with new problems connected with the activation of the working people's creative initiative and the creation of the essential conditions for its efficient manifestation and use in the interests of communist building.

The masses have a decisive role in history primarily thanks to their participation in social production. The economy is now the main sphere of the Soviet people's struggle for the victory of communism. This article illustrates certain features of the activity of the Georgian Communist Party at the current stage to direct the development of the masses' creative initiative in economic building.

The principles and urgent tasks of the organization of the creative work of the millions-strong masses for the purpose of their more active enlistment in the management of production which ensue from Lenin's ideas are formulated in the historic decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses, the CPSU Central Committee October (1964) and subsequent plenums, Central Committee decrees and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The general direction of this work may be expressed in L. I. Brezhnev's words addressed to the 24th CPSU Congress: "Mobilizing the masses for the struggle to accomplish the set tasks and rallying the entire people even more closely on the Leninist platform of communist building--such is the principal task of the party and all its organizations."<sup>5</sup>

Most valuable material on the party's experience of developing the independent enterprise and initiative of the working people's masses in different periods of the struggle for socialism in close interconnection with the urgent problems of communist building is contained in L. I. Brezhnev's work "Malaya zemiya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [The Virgin Land].

L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum is of particular importance for an understanding of the tasks of the present day and the immediate future.<sup>6</sup>



The party organization of Soviet Georgia is also fighting in the common combat formation of communist fellow thinkers united in the 17-million-strong CPSU for the realization of its economic strategy formulated by recent congresses. The Georgian Communist Party currently has more than 355,000 CPSU members and candidates, of whom 114,000 are workers and approximately 80,000 kolkhoz members. More than 75 nationalities and national groups are represented in it.

The Georgian party organization has to its credit a great deal of experience and major achievements in the implementation of the CPSU's Leninist policy. In the years of Soviet power Georgia has been converted from a backward outlying region of Tsarist Russia into a flourishing republic with a highly developed industry, diversified mechanized agriculture and advanced science and culture.

Under the conditions of developed socialism a most important landmark in the life of the party organization and all working people of Georgia was the CPSU Central Committee decree "The Organizing and Political Work of the Georgian Communist Party's Tbilisskiy Gorkom To Implement the Decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress,"<sup>7</sup> which was adopted on 22 February 1972 and which was truly historic for our republic. This document's provisions, which were developed in subsequent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees,<sup>8</sup> determined for many years ahead a concrete action program for the republic Communist Party and the working people of Soviet Georgia.

The CPSU Central Committee pointed in the decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkom to serious shortcomings and gaps in the leadership of the economy and culture and in ideological work and outlined measures for their eradication.

The Georgian Communist Party analyzed the situation in the republic in the light of this decree. It was recognized that the Leninist standards and principles of party and state life had been violated here for a number of years. This was expressed in the weakening of party leadership of all spheres of the economy and culture and in instances of bureaucratism, protectionism, embezzlement of socialist property, bribe-taking and the resuscitation of petit bourgeois private-ownership tendencies. All this could not have failed to have had a negative effect on the fulfillment of state targets, the moral psychological climate in the republic and the efficiency of the party organizations. The Georgian SSR began to lag seriously behind in all the principal economic indicators, and there was a threat that the Ninth Five-Year Plan quotas would not be met. How can we fail to recall here V. I. Lenin's notable words to the effect that if we make serious mistakes in accomplishing our tasks, "then all economic building will be trimmed."<sup>9</sup>

It was natural that in this situation the political and labor activeness of the working masses could not have been manifested to the proper extent. The divergence between word and deed, the unseemly behavior of certain party, soviet and economic leaders, the spread of corruption and nepotism and the flagrant violation of Leninist principles of the selection and placement of

management personnel of all tiers had a negative influence on the mood of the masses and gave rise to their sluggishness and coolness toward socio-political and production problems.

Therefore without the decisive elimination of all these negative phenomena and without the speediest recuperation of the moral-psychological climate in the republic there was no point in even thinking about overcoming the serious lagging in the development of the economy and culture and unconditionally fulfilling the state quotas of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

At its February (1973) Plenum, in a letter to the republic party organizations and in a number of other documents the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee told Georgia's working people in the spirit of Lenin's precepts the bitter, but curative truth about the situation that had been created. And it not only told this bitter truth but also waged a decisive struggle, relying on the support of the broad working people's masses, against all negative phenomena and their consequences and for the restoration and assertion of Leninist standards of party and state life and the surmounting of the lags in the fulfillment of state quotas. The implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilieskiy Gorkom and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and plenum decisions--including "The Struggle Against Protectionism in the Republic" (1974) and "Measures To Intensify the Struggle Against Harmful Traditions and Customs" (1975)--ensuing therefrom improved the moral-psychological climate in the republic and contributed to a sharp increase in the political and labor activeness of the masses and the broadening of the initiative and independent enterprise of the labor collectives.

A priority task in overcoming the shortcomings pointed out in the 22 February 1972 CPSU Central Committee decree consisted of galvanizing the working people for the struggle to strengthen labor discipline in all links of production.

We realized that the principal factor of each labor collective's successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the Ninth Five-Year Plan quotas, the long-term plans of the socioeconomic development of the collectives and current plans is a decisive strengthening of party, state and labor discipline. After all, high production results are achieved, as practice shows, only by collectives whose members are unswervingly and daily guided in work by the interests of society and the state, putting them above all else, and which display a class-based, party-minded approach to the solution of problems of economic and cultural building and a high awareness of their public duty. This was seriously discussed at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee November and December (1972) plenums, which were devoted to questions of the development of the republic's industry and agriculture and the surmounting of the lag in the fulfillment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan quotas which had been discerned.

The fact that it was the working people themselves of the republic's cities and villages who were the initiators of an intensification of the struggle for a strengthening of production discipline is gratifying. This was laboring Georgia's concrete response to the CPSU Central Committee decree on the work of the Tbilisskiy Gorkom.

At the end of 1972 the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers approved an initiative of the labor collectives of the Tbilisi Electric Locomotive-Construction Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov and the villages of Khutsubani (the Adzharskaya ASSR's Kobuletskiy Rayon) and Tkviavi (Goriyskiy Rayon). Having discussed at their meetings questions of a further increase in the working people's responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of the state plans for all indicators, they advocated the strengthening of state and labor discipline in all links of industry, agriculture and culture and an increase in production efficiency in each job and proclaimed an implacable struggle against those who violate the principles of the moral code of the builder of communism and prevent the labor collectives achieving even higher indicators, shirkers, drifters, those out to make a fast buck and other antipodes of socialist society. The participants in these meetings appealed to all the republic's workers to actively support their initiative.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee recommended that the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations everywhere discuss this appeal at general meetings of the labor collectives and outline concrete measures for the extensive dissemination of this initiative. And it was really warmly taken up by the working class, kolkhos peasantry and intelligentsia.

Taking into consideration the fact that the highest manifestation of the working people's conscious good conduct is socialist competition, the republic party organizations undertook great and multifaceted work to support and propagandize the experience of the production pacesetters, innovators and efficiency experts and introduce it in practice. Socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor were gradually converted into a school of highly conscious state and labor discipline. This positive trend was manifested particularly clearly in the process of the struggle for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the national economic plan of 1973--the decisive year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. In February 1973 the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau adopted a decree on the creation of the Republic Commission for the Leadership of Socialist Competition. Similar commissions were created locally. The purpose of these commissions was to increase the promptitude and efficacy of competition.

The collective of the Tbilisi Telegraphic Equipment Plant imeni 50-letiya SSR came out with a valuable initiative in the republic in 1973. The board of directors and the party, labor union and Komsomol organizations of the plant embarked on work to create the organizational-technical and economic



conditions insuring the highly productive labor of the entire collective. Having studied the experience of the scientific organization of labor at the country's foremost enterprises, particularly the Saratov system of the defect-free manufacture of products, the people of Tbilisi went further. As distinct from the Saratov system, for example, that proposed by the Tbilisi people affords an opportunity of organizing, directing and efficiently monitoring the work not of part but of all links of the enterprise by means of concrete demands on the evaluation of the activity of the worker, foreman, section chief, shop chief and every service and division manager. The coefficients of an evaluation of labor activity are specified in differentiated manner here, with regard for the particular features of the production operations of workers of different grades. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee approved the initiative of the Tbilisi Telegraphic Equipment Plant collective in a special resolution, whose fulfillment contributed to an increase in labor productivity at many of the republic's enterprises.

A powerful new upsurge of the creative activeness of the working people of the republic was elicited by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree, adopted in January 1974, on measures for the further development of the Georgian SSR economy, which was imbued with Leninist concern for the burgeoning of Georgia's economy and culture and the welfare of the republic's working people.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee constantly kept questions of the extensive dissemination and ubiquitous introduction of the working people's valuable initiatives within its sights and systematically monitored the fulfillment of the pledges adopted by the labor collectives. Thus in September 1974 the Central Committee discussed the question of the work of the party organization of the Tbilisi Electric Locomotive-Construction Plant (Imeni V. I. Lenin) to strengthen state and labor discipline and intensify the struggle for model public order. As is known, this enterprise was an initiator of the patriotic undertaking of the working people of Georgia's cities and villages which was aimed at strengthening labor discipline and which became widespread in the republic. The Georgian Communist Party ascertained that considerable political and organizing work was being performed at the enterprise to enhance the role of the labor collective in sociopolitical life and in the solution of urgent questions connected with a further strengthening of state and labor discipline. Positive changes in the sphere of the collective's socioeconomic life were discerned here as a result. The enterprise's production structure was improved, the nature and content of the work of the plant's workers and employees became more progressive, and the level of the workers' technical, general educational and legal knowledge rose. All this determined an improvement in the plant's industrial-economic indicators in fulfillment of the five-year plan quotas.

Together with this the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee noted a number of considerable shortcomings in the work of the enterprise's administration and party, labor union and Komsomol organizations. It paid particular attention in its decree to questions of the political, labor and moral

training of the working youth and vocational-technical school graduates and to the further development of tutorship and various forms of patronage and individual--educational work with the young people. The Central Committee demanded that more persistent and efficient use be made of the legal possibilities of the production collective and the galvanization of the work of people's control groups and stations, "Komsomol Searchlight," the comrades' courts and other legal public institutions in order to concentrate their activity on the unconditional fulfillment of pledges concerning the strictest observance of discipline and order.

The working people of the entire USSR prepared to greet the opening of the 25th CPSU Congress in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm. Everywhere the labor collectives adopted high socialist pledges to mark the 25th CPSU Congress with new labor victories.

A further splendid initiative from the production pacesetters was born at this time in Soviet Georgia. A brigade of core makers of the Tbilisi "Tsentrolit" Plant led by Georgiy Kurtanidze, hero of socialist labor and deputy of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, inspired by a letter of greetings from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and proceeding from the tasks put forward in his speech at the meeting with the electorate of Moscow's Baumanskiy Okrug on 13 June 1975,<sup>10</sup> adopted high preconference socialist pledges, which represented a comprehensive creative plan formulated by the brigade for the period through the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan and aimed at an improvement in qualitative work indicators directly on the job.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee specially examined this initiative and noted the fruitful assistance rendered the brigade by the plant's engineering-technical personnel in the analysis of its activity and the disclosure of production potential and the elaboration of organizational-technical measures. Attaching to the initiative of the brigade of core makers of the "Tsentrolit" Plant important economic and political significance as a qualitatively new movement in socialist competition, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee approved it, proposing that the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and all party, labor union and Komsomol organizations of the republic extensively deploy organizing and mass-political work to support this initiative and bring its essence and meaning to the attention of each worker of all sectors of the economy and to disseminate it everywhere. The Central Committee considered it expedient to organize in the labor collectives an in-depth study of production economics and to render them assistance in the compilation of creative plans aimed at an improvement in qualitative work indicators.

The extensive dissemination and introduction of all these valuable initiatives of the working people largely insured the surmounting of the serious lagging behind the Ninth Five-Year Plan targets which had been discerned.

From the high platform of the 25th Georgian Communist Party Congress the republic's communists proudly reported to the CPSU Central Committee and the motherland the fulfillment of the five-year plan. In that period the Georgian SSR was awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banner for socialist competition results three times--in 1973, 1974 and 1975. In the same period the Georgian SSR was awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples.

Effective measures were implemented in the Ninth Five-Year Plan for retooling enterprises and introducing the latest achievements of science and technology and progressive techniques in production. More than 350 shops and sections were comprehensively mechanized and automated, 900 mechanized and transfer lines were installed, more than 300 new products were assimilated, the State Sign of Quality was conferred on 247 products, and 112,000 production-efficiency proposals and inventions were introduced providing a savings of R177 million over the five-year plan.

Thanks merely to the modernization and retooling of enterprises, the increase in the gross product constituted R850 million over the five-year period or over 50 percent of the total product increase.

The fixed production capital of the republic's economy increased by a factor of 1.4 over the five-year plan. Labor productivity increased 32 percent (compared with the 30 percent stipulated in the directives), and this accounted for 65.3 percent of the entire increase in production. The Ninth Five-Year Plan targets for the volume of industrial production were met ahead of schedule, and its growth rate constituted 40.1 percent. The sectors determining technical progress such as the electrical engineering and chemical sectors, instrument making and means of automation and machine building developed at a preferential pace.

Thanks to the great deal of organizing and political work of the party organizations and the selfless creative labor of the workers and engineering-technical personnel, the lagging which had occurred in the first 2 years of the five-year plan was overcome. In 1971-1972 the average annual industrial growth rate was 2.5 percent and 10.5 percent in the next 3 years.

Many production collectives fulfilled their five-year quotas ahead of schedule, including the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov, whose collective was an initiator of the struggle for a decisive strengthening of state and labor discipline.

There was a radical change in the state of affairs in the industry of Soviet Georgia's capital--Tbilisi. The purposeful work to eradicate the serious shortcomings indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkon bore fruit. There was a sharp reduction in the number of enterprises of the republic capital failing to fulfill the production plan. The pernicious practice of amending plans downward was eliminated entirely.

Persistent struggle for the realization of the directive targets and their fulfillment in the main parameters made it possible to improve the situation in industry in the republic as a whole, increase the aggregate social product 32.8 percent and national income 32 percent and accomplish the principal socioeconomic tasks of the five-year plan.

The agricultural workers also scored considerable successes in the final years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Over the five-year period the state was sold a considerable quantity of grain, high-grade tea leaf, citrus fruit, sugar beet, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk and other products over and above the plan. Above-plan agricultural products were procured over the whole of the last five-year plan to the tune of R220 million, and 45 kolkhozes and 31 sovkhoses of the republic realized the five-year plan ahead of schedule and in all indicators and were winners of all-union and republic socialist competition.

Thus as of 1973 a sound basis was laid in the republic for the development of all sectors of the economy as a result of the creation of favorable prerequisites for the strengthening of state, plan and labor discipline and the extensive dissemination of the working people's creative initiative and independent enterprise. This made it possible not only to gradually reduce the gap in the industrial production growth rate which had developed in the first 2 years of the five-year plan but also to successfully achieve the planned gains in many indicators.

However, the growth rate achieved in the Ninth Five-Year Plan still proved inadequate for the complete liquidation within the planned period of the lagging behind the average union level and, even more, for steering the republic into foremost positions in the union in the main indicator--level of production of the social product and national income per capita. For this reason we had to create a strong foundation in the 10th Five-Year Plan for finally overcoming the lagging that had been allowed to develop.

The situation in agriculture remained particularly difficult. The most important indicators of the republic's agricultural production were far lower than the corresponding all-union figures and, what is more, lower than the indicators of progressive fraternal republics. The prolonged lagging of agricultural production was caused to a considerable extent by the low level of the kolkhozes' and sovkhoses' capital-worker ration; also utterly unsatisfactory use was made of available capital. The republic occupied one of the last places in the country in this most important indicator.

The principal task of the 10th Five-Year Plan, as emphasized in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, is the consistent implementation of the Communist Party's policy of an upsurge in the people's material and cultural living standard on the basis of the dynamic and proportional development of social production and its increased efficiency, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and the comprehensive improvement in work quality in all links of the economy.<sup>11</sup>



The accomplishment of this task demanded of party, soviet and economic organizations and the communists and all working people of the republic increasing labor and public activeness, extensive initiative from below, strenuous creative work, the strengthening of science's links with production and the solution of many other vitally important national economic problems.

As in previous years, tremendous assistance has been rendered us in the struggle for the realization of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress by the CPSU Central Committee and L. I. Brezhnev personally, who is paying constant attention to our republic's party organization.

At this new stage of struggle and construction a document of great inspirational force was the CPSU Central Committee decree "The Progress of the Georgian Party Organization's Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Decree on the Organizing and Political Work of the Tbilisskiy Gorkom,"<sup>12</sup> which was adopted on 24 June 1976. This document, which is of partywide significance, points out that the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee drew the correct conclusions from the serious shortcomings and mistakes noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the organizing and political work of the Tbilisskiy Gorkom. It says that the Communist Party Central Committee, the Tbilisskiy Gorkom and other party committees self-critically analyzed the state of affairs in the republic and formulated and are implementing a wide-ranging system of measures aimed at an upsurge of the economy and culture, a rise in the working people's living standard and the further growth of their political consciousness and creative initiative. Purposeful work is being performed to assert Leninist standards of party life and principles of party leadership. There has been a considerable increase in the authority and an intensification of the directing and organizing influence of the party organizations in various spheres of the republic's socioeconomic and spiritual life.

The CPSU Central Committee ascertained that the Communist Party Central Committee and Georgia's party, soviet and economic organs and labor collectives, relying on the support and assistance of the party and government and making fuller use of internal potential, have basically overcome the serious lagging in the fulfillment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan which was allowed to develop in 1971-1972. As a result the republic's industry has reached the level envisaged by the directives of the 24th CPSU Congress in the rate of development and total volume of production and sold output.

At the same time the CPSU Central Committee drew the attention of the Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR to the republic's lagging behind the average union level in production of the social product and national income per capita. The unconditional fulfillment of all quantity and quality indicators outlined in the Main Direction of the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980 was advanced by the CPSU Central Committee as a most important task of the republic's party, soviet and economic organs.

The party Central Committee expressed the firm confidence that the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of Soviet Georgia would, under the leadership of the republic Communist Party--a combat detachment of the CPSU--direct their entire creative energy toward the achievement of new successes in communist building and make a worthy contribution to the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the further strengthening of the might of our Soviet motherland.

The Georgian working people, under the leadership of the republic party organizations, honorably fulfilled the tasks with which they had been entrusted, whose realization demanded the further development of the creative initiative of the masses and the even greater strengthening of party, state and labor discipline.

On the initiative of the party aktiv in July 1976 the collective of the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant appealed to all the republics working people to develop a mass movement under the motto "The Worker's Guarantee of a Strengthening of Socialist Discipline"!

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee approved this patriotic initiative in a special decree. Viewing the initiative of the Rustavi metallurgists as the logical development in breadth and in depth of the process of the strengthening of discipline in the republic begun in the course of fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkom, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee emphasized the qualitative innovation of this initiative--a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems of strengthening socialist discipline based on the organic unity of all its types and forms: a transition from the assertion of the elementary standards of discipline to its more profound, fundamental principles as indicators of the overall high standard of labor, performance of patriotic and international duty and involvement of all working people's collectives and each worker in the struggle to strengthen discipline; and an approach to discipline as a principal factor of a further increase in production efficiency and work quality in all links of the economy.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee charged all party committees and primary party organizations with formulating a procedure of the study and dissemination of the Rustavi people's initiative which provides for: the organized and moral-political and professional preparation of the working people's collectives for participation in the mass movement to strengthen discipline; the creation of the objective material-technical and socioeconomic conditions and incentives for the assertion of strong, conscious discipline and model order; and the elaboration, with regard for local peculiarities, of a concrete comprehensive plan of measures for the assertion of socialist discipline in each working people's collective. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee called for the essence of the metallurgists' initiative not to be distorted by attempts to reduce matters to general appeals, paper pledges and fruitless verbiage about discipline. Enlisting in the mass movement for strengthening socialist discipline all working people's collectives and all party and public organizations was set as the task. It was necessary

to arrive for a situation where in the assertion of the working people's socialist discipline became the life position of each member of society, increase the real responsibility of the collectives for each violation of discipline by a member thereof and strengthen the personal responsibility of each to his collective. Particular significance was attached to the strengthening of the state of organization and discipline in the countryside and the mobilization of the kolkhoz peasantry and sovkhos workers for a further qualitative and quantitative growth of production of the social product and the struggle against private-ownership vestiges and for the eradication of violations of the standards of the socialist way of life.

The Rustavi workers' initiative was broadly taken up by all industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and establishments of the republic. The Rustavi people themselves joined in socialist competition under the slogan "Not One Laggard and Violator of Discipline Alongside." The Tbilisi and Kutaisi people responded to this initiative and began working under the motto "Working Without Lagging Enterprises." These initiatives contributed not only to an impressive savings but also to the cultivation in people of a communist attitude toward labor, civic responsibility for the common cause and an active position in life.

As is known, it was precisely these initiatives which were highly evaluated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee November (1978) Plenum. In the spirit of Leninist behests and traditions, the Leninist demand for businesslike efficiency and a dislike of empty fuss and chatter L. I. Brezhnev declared: "We do not need noise and fuss in connection with competition. We need the lively interest of each working person and each labor collective in improving their work. We do not need far-fetched 'undertakings.' We need businesslike initiatives which truly come from the heart of the masses and which are capable of rousing and inspiring millions of people. One such is working without laggards. It is precisely such initiatives which must be disseminated."<sup>13</sup>

A striking example of the effectiveness of the struggle of the republic's working people for the implementation of the directives of the 25th CPSU Congress and the historic decisions concerning Georgia adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on the initiative of L. I. Brezhnev is the labor victory of the workers, engineering-technical personnel and employees of the construction and installation organizations, planners and machine builders and all participants in the installation of the Ingurakaya GES. On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October they reported to the party and people the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of the first unit with a capacity of 260,000 kilowatts. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a high evaluation of this exploit. He wrote on 5 November 1978 in his greetings to its creators: "I cordially congratulate you on this splendid labor victory. It has been achieved thanks to the selfless labor of the multinational collective of construction workers and assemblers, creative collaboration with scientific research and planning institutes and the plants supplying the equipment and the great deal of organizing and political work of the Georgian republic party organization and also

all party, labor union and Komsomol organizations of the collectives participating in the installation of the Ingurskaya GES."<sup>14</sup>

The creative work of the people produced splendid shoots--in 1976, 1977 and 1978 the republic again received CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee challenge red banners.

Here are some of the most characteristic data illustrating the upsurge in the level of the Georgian SSR's economy in the first 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The republic's aggregate social product per capita increased 17.6 percent against a five-year plan target of 13 percent.

The production of national income per capita increased 19.5 percent (against a five-year plan target of 12.4 percent). Similar correlations are also taking shape in the dynamics of applied national income. A most important indicator of social production efficiency is social labor productivity. It increased 21.4 percent in the last 3 years, which is 4.5 percent higher than the five-year plan targets.

The rate of increase in the above-mentioned indicators of economic development markedly surpasses analogous average-union parameters, which is making it possible to constantly eliminate the lagging behind the average union level in the production of national income per capita. A principal strategic task set the Georgian party organization by the CPSU Central Committee is hereby being successfully accomplished.

The rate and dimensions which have been achieved would have been impossible without the intensive development of the republic's economic potential. The following data testify most graphically to the increase in the Georgian SSR's economic strength: the most important summary parameters of economic and social development--the aggregate social product and national income--increased 20.3 percent and 22.3 percent respectively in 1978 compared with 1976--the base year of the five-year plan.

A fundamental turn for the better has been discerned in the dynamics of the most important quality indicators of management efficiency--labor productivity and the quality of the manufactured product. Georgia has reached frontal positions in the country in the labor productivity growth rate--a principal yardstick of efficiency. The number of products bearing the Sign of Quality increased by a factor of more than 6.5 in 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and these products' proportion of total production increased appreciably. The lagging in agriculture has largely been overcome. According to scientific forecasts, the increase in the agricultural product in the 10th Five-Year Plan will constitute 30-33 percent compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. This will be one of the best indicators in the country.

Capital construction is being undertaken on a large scale, and new enterprises and capacities have been commissioned in all spheres of material production and the nonproduction sphere, which has contributed to a further



increase in the republic's economic potential. The volume of assimilated capital investments in the 3 years was 27.5 percent greater than the corresponding indicators for 1971-1973, and the value of commissioned fixed capital was 32 percent higher.

The policy of an increase in the people's well-being is being pursued consistently in the republic on the basis of a growth in the scale and efficiency of social production. Real income per capita in the first 3 years of the five-year plan increased 14 percent compared with the five-year plan target of 12.2 percent. The average wage of workers and employees in the national economy increased 12.7 percent, and the remuneration of kolkhos members increased 27 percent.

The successes are the result of the entire multifaceted work of the party organization, including work done in the sphere of communist education.

The tasks put forward by the 25th CPSU Congress, the party orientation toward an increase in the quality of all work and the maximum disclosure and use of potential compel us to return again and again to the personnel problem in the broadest meaning of this word.

It is indisputable that in our time--in the era of the scientific-technical revolution, when science has become a direct production force--the question of production's provision with equipment and the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology (in the sphere of the organization of labor also) is of paramount importance. At the same time the main engine and potential of social progress was and remains man, his intelligence, his capabilities and his labor. The effectiveness of the application of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and their social direction also depend on man and his consciousness, general culture and professional qualities.

Orienting the working people's creative initiative and activeness toward the achievement of the goals set by the 25th congress and the CPSU Central Committee and striving for the unswerving and fullest implementation of the party and government decrees concerning Soviet Georgia specially, the republic communist organization constantly keeps at the center of its attention questions of the rational use of labor resources, the labor guidance of the youth, the development of vocational-technical education, the training of specialists for all sectors of the economy and the improvement of the qualifications of managers of all grades.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 16th Plenum in October 1979 summed up the results of a study of the personnel problem in the republic. It observed that the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkon had exerted the most beneficent influence on the implementation of personnel policy in the republic. Positive changes in the placement of party forces, from the Central Committee through the lower cells, occurred in the course of the struggle to implement this decree. The Central Committee Bureau was

replenished, and many sectors of party, state and economic work were reinforced with politically mature and morally stable people devoted to the party's cause. Many bold, courageous and energetic communists capable of persuading by the logic of their word and deed and who have become the dependable nucleus of a party aktiv which is closely connected with the labor collectives and the people were promoted from the heart of the masses in the course of this struggle. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee relied primarily on them in striving persistently and uncompromisingly for an improvement in the moral-psychological climate in the republic.

The significance of the efforts in this direction may be illustrated in the example of Abashakiy Rayon. Before 1972 this was one of Georgia's least productive rayons. The new personnel which had taken part in the struggle for implementation of the CPSU Central Committee instructions succeeded in creating an atmosphere conducive to the manifestation of Soviet man's best qualities and to the surmounting of negative tendencies, and this played a tremendous part in the uplift of the population's mood and in the development of the labor and political activeness of the masses, a consequence of which was Abashakiy Rayon's emergence among the frontrunning rayons.

Georgia currently has approximately 50,000 scheduled workers of all party committees. These are almost to a man (91 percent) people with higher and secondary specialized education, and half of them are national economy specialists. Even compared with 1976 the number of specialists among the scheduled workers has risen by 4,000. Two-thirds of managerial positions in the republic are occupied by people 50 years of age and under; there are approximately 5,000 representatives of an older generation. The republic Communist Party pays constant attention to improving the qualifications of management personnel. The Institute of National Economy Management, which is designed to train approximately 400 people a year, recently opened in Tbilisi in accordance with a party and government decision. Surmounting the shortcomings of past years, the Georgian Communist Party is consistently introducing in the practice of work with the personnel Leninist principles of its selection and training, displaying concern to insure that the managers correspond to the high demands of a Leninist style and the level of present-day social development.

Some 432,000 specialists, including approximately 250,000 people with higher education, are employed in Georgia's economy. Soviet Georgia occupies first place in the country for the proportion of specialists with higher education in the total number of workers employed in the economy. Some 1,400 people with higher education are workers. Some 136 vocational-technical and technical schools operate in the republic, and they all provide, in addition to vocational, complete secondary education. Some 103,000 skilled specialists of the mass professions graduated from these schools in the past 4 years. Approximately 60,000 young recruits are trained annually directly at the enterprises, and approximately 130,000-135,000 people improve their qualifications here every year.

In directing the activity of the republic's soviets, Komsomol, labor unions and other public organizations the Georgian Communist Party, in the spirit of the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, is teaching them an attentive attitude toward the training of the young worker and employee replacement shift and toward the work and social conditions of those who are creating material and spiritual assets. The creative activeness and labor enthusiasm of the builders of communism largely depend on the correct solution of these questions. For this reason the Georgian Communist Party, displaying concern for the most extensive dissemination of foremost experience and progressive undertakings, is striving for an organization of socialist competition whereby, in accordance with Lenin's ideas, the growth of the production of material and spiritual assets and an increase in labor productivity are accompanied by a general upsurge in the collectivist principles inherent in socialism and an improvement in all aspects of our socialist way of life.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum was held on 10 December 1979. It examined the republic party organization's priority tasks in the light of the results of the work of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th Convocation. In his speech at the above-mentioned CPSU Central Committee Plenum L. I. Brezhnev formulated the principal directions of organizational, mass-political and ideological work with respect to current national economic tasks.

What are these directions?

The utmost development of socialist competition and its orientation toward quality indicators and struggle for the fulfillment of counterplans.

Support for and dissemination of progressive experience and progressive work forms and methods contributing to an increase in labor productivity.

The consistent implementation of a regime of thrift and the rational use of material and financial resources.

Struggle against violations of labor discipline, slipshod work and slackness. A growing part in this struggle must be played by the labor collectives, and, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, it is necessary to extend their rights.

"Mobilization of the working people to fulfill the targets of the final year of the five-year plan must be at the center of all our efforts," L. I. Brezhnev said in conclusion. The targets of the 1980 plan are not simple. But they must be fulfilled and surpassed. What is needed for this? It is necessary to create an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization and a creative attitude toward matters in all sections of the economy and in each production cell."<sup>15</sup>

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee summed up the preliminary results of the struggle for the accomplishment in the republic of the tasks of 4 years of the five-year plan, examined the main clauses of the plan of Georgia's economic and social development in 1980 and outlined the party organization's tasks to secure fulfillment of the quotas of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole in the light of the work of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and the propositions formulated by L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at this plenum. It was noted that, together with the entire country, the Georgian party organization and working people had taken a considerable step forward along the path toward communism. As early as 1 September the republic's industry had almost reached the limits which had been planned for the end of 1979. Not only the industrial workers but the agricultural workers also scored big successes. The achievements of Georgia's tea growers were mentioned at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum for the first time in many years. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum ascertained that the essential conditions are being created in the republic for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole. Furthermore, it may be said even now that the five-year plan quotas will be overfulfilled in all the most important summary indicators of economic and social development. Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on measures to increase the production of southern and subtropical crops and further accelerate the development of agriculture in the Georgian SSR will play an important part in the struggle to complete the five-year plan. Measures to fulfill this decree, which was adopted in September 1979, were discussed by a special meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv.

Of course, we are perfectly well aware that abundant work lies ahead of us to completely overcome the lagging of past years, emerge in frontal positions in all the main economic indicators and worthily greet the 26th congress of the great Lenin Party.

But we are profoundly convinced that the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of Soviet Georgia and all the republic's working people will, under the leadership of the party organizations and closely rallied around our party's Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, that outstanding theoretician and organizer of communist building, do everything to implement the historic decisions of the 25th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee decrees and for the triumph of communism in our country.

Mass socialist competition has currently developed in the republic, as throughout the USSR, to mark the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth with new successes in the struggle for communism. The working people are fully resolved to make the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan one of shock Leninist work.

# FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 36, p 104.
2. Ibid., vol 35, p 57.
3. "110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth." CPSU Central Committee decree, PRAVDA, 16 December 1979.
4. Ibid.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [Following Lenin's Policy. Speeches and Articles], vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 313.
6. See PRAVDA, 28 November 1979.
7. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], vol 11, Moscow, 1978, pp 67-74.
8. See ibid., vol 21, Moscow, 1978, pp 299-306; E. A. Shevardnadze, "Sovetskaya Gruzija" [Soviet Georgia], Moscow, 1979, p 21; and ZARYA VOSTOKA, 24 November 1979.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, p 113.
10. See L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Policy. Speeches and Articles," vol 5, Moscow, 1976, pp 307-321.
11. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Material of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 119.
12. "The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums," vol 12, pp 299-306.
13. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [Following Lenin's Policy. Speeches, Greetings, Articles, Reminiscences], vol 7, Moscow, 1979, pp 539-540.
14. Ibid., p 504.
15. PRAVDA, 28 November 1979.

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## NATIONAL

### 'DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM' AS ALTERNATIVE TO REAL SOCIALISM DEBUNKED

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[Article by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov: "'Democratic Socialism': Reformist Illusions and Actual Reality"]

[Text] Is an alternative to the two opposed world social systems--socialist and capitalist--historically possible? The polemics surrounding this question have intensified markedly in the West recently in connection with the ever increasing instability of the social system in the developed capitalist countries. The quest for a "third path" is leading many bourgeois and reformist theoreticians to a substantiation of the possibility in principle of the choice of some balanced, historically feasible "middle" solution and to the promotion of an illusory concept most frequently called "democratic socialism."

The CPSU's position on this question was expounded in the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress. "Undoubtedly," L. I. Brezhnev said, "there can be no question of an ideological rapprochement between scientific communism and the reformism of the social democrats. There are still many social democrats who organize their entire activity on the basis of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. There are even parties which punish contacts with the communists. We will struggle against such phenomena for they are only to the benefit of reaction.

"However, with social democrats who are aware of their responsibility for the cause of peace and, even more, with social democratic workers we may be and are united by a concern for the security of the peoples and an aspiration to curb the arms race and rebuff fascism, racism and colonialism. It is precisely in this plane that we have displayed and will continue to display initiative and good will."<sup>1</sup>

This article attempts a critical analysis of certain new aspects of the social democrats' theoretical standpoints apropos a so-called "middle path" of society's development which is counterposed not so much to capitalism as to real socialism.

If we believe the German Social Democratic Party's [SPD's] government program for 1976-1980, its proposed model of "democratic socialism" is allegedly the most "successful alternative, capable of refinement and meriting further development, to capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other."<sup>2</sup>

The claim is made, as we can see, without undue modesty. But the question is: is the discovery of some new direction of social development in the era of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, which is now into its seventh decade, has embraced many countries and hundreds of millions of people and is continuing to expand and grow, even possible? Marxist-Leninist theory and the entire practical experience which man has accumulated in the 20th century respond to this question in the negative.

Let us assume, however, that the social democrats are right and that the discovery of a new course, which is an alternative to the two socioeconomic systems, has proved possible. In this case it would have to be allowed that all the so-called models (capitalism, communism and social democratism) exist on an equal basis, as they say, that each country arbitrarily makes its own choice and that mankind is divided into three entirely independent social streams isolated from one another.

Such a linear outline of progress fails to withstand any criticism for it ignores the time factor. According to this outline, each "model" obtains an eternity certificate and, what is most important, is not subject to any changes and is incapable of strengthening and achieving maturity or, on the contrary, of aging and fading away. The utter absurdity of such a metaphysical concept of the social system as a quality given for all time is obvious.

It has to be assumed that the formula quoted from the SPD program intends a new alternative not so much to capitalism as to real socialism. This is in reality the case, and it was for precisely this reason that it was christened "democratic socialism" and elevated to the rank of the social democratic doctrine of the future.

The social democracy ranks are divided as to whether "democratic socialism" is an ideology or political doctrine. In the opinion of O. Palme, leader of Sweden's social democrats, "democratic socialism" may be considered an ideology.<sup>3</sup> SPD leader W. Brandt, on the other hand, believes that social democrats should not regard themselves as the bearers of any particular world view.<sup>4</sup>

Yet whatever reservations accompany the term "democratic socialism," it undoubtedly represents the ideology of social democracy. It is not without reason that the leaders of the Socialist International cite as its sources Christian ethics, humanism, classical philosophy and even certain aspects of...Marxism. Revealing the content of the world-outlook "bricks" with

which the ideological content of "democratic socialism" is taking shape, its theoreticians, in the words of one of them, "include in humanism also the picture of man created by the young Marx."<sup>5</sup> This question, for understandable reasons, deserves special examination.

It is known that the genesis of contemporary social democracy was connected with the split in the workers movement and the departure of the right-opportunistic leaders of the Second International from the teaching of K. Marx developed by V. I. Lenin and corroborated in the practice of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Since this time social democracy has passed through a number of periods of attitude toward Marxism--from semi-acceptance to its complete repudiation. A broad spectrum of views on this cardinal question can be observed currently.

The right wing of the social democrats does not merely declare its final break with Marxism but flaunts it, putting "liberation" from Marxism among its merits. Marxism is assessed by the representatives of this wing as the philosophy of "nonscientific prediction"<sup>6</sup> inapplicable to an analysis of current social reality.

A far larger group in contemporary social democracy is composed of those who from time to time quote from this or the other work of Marx and even declare in this form or the other the need to make use of the creative inheritance of the founder of revolutionary theory. True, all kinds of reservations counterposing Marx to Lenin, the elderly Marx to the young Marx, Marx to Engels and so forth are made here. However it may be, an aspiration to have the authority of Marxism as part of the equipment and to "return" Marx to the social democrats, having "removed" him from the communists, is clearly in evidence.

The social democrats include figures who sincerely aspire to apprehend certain elements of Marxist theory. Others resort to a Marxist phrase, mainly for the sake of self-publicity, particularly on those occasions when it is a question of a speech in a workers' club or from a university rostrum; it is another matter when a businessmen's conference has to be addressed: do not frighten away financial "donors" to the red flag. Whence such extraordinary instances as a statement by B. Kreisky, leader of the Austrian Socialist Party, on the future society accompanied by the reservation: "I am not afraid to speak about this in Marx's words."<sup>7</sup> Reckless political boldness, is it not?

F. Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, expressed himself more definitely in this respect, declaring that "the party's theoretical basis is Marxism."<sup>8</sup> But this acknowledgment was immediately accompanied by the reservation that the works of Freud represent a more important revolution of ideas in the world for our time.<sup>9</sup>

Having embarked upon a systematic exposition of the concept of "democratic socialism," G. Wuthe and H. Junker assert that Marx's "tools" are only



useful for forecasting the paths of social development to a limited extent in that they represent "macro-analysis."<sup>10</sup> Like meteorology, which guesses the weather pretty well for the month, but which often errs in its forecast for the next day, so allegedly the Marxist method also may serve as the basis only of long-term and large-scale forecasts. Whence it ensues that "democratic socialism" must not be based on Marxism completely.

It is by no means a question of differences of a methodological order here. In contradiction to their own arguments concerning macro-analysis, the authors assert that foreseeing the historical long term to any extent scientifically is absolutely impossible. This agnostic thesis is proved approximately thus: socialism equals ideology, ideology embodies people's cherished aspirations, people's cherished aspirations are connected with faith; in that science cannot be the foundation of faith, so Marxist socialism cannot be scientific. So simple!

For fairness's sake it should be said that the theoreticians of social democracy display a kind of objectiveness here. According to them, "democratic socialism" is also based on a judgment concerning recognition of a definite, desired form of society which cannot be directly deduced from the data of empirical conditions. In this sense it also is not scientific.<sup>11</sup>

The objectivist "equalization" of the Marxist-Leninist and social democratic doctrines of socialism on the grounds that "they are both nonscientific" shows particularly distinctly how far contemporary social democrats, including those who declare their desire to make use of Marxist "tools," have departed from an understanding of the essence of Marxism. For they ascribe to it that same fundamental defect of all utopian doctrines which was overcome for the first time by Marx and Engels.

As a whole, if we refer not to the "disturbers of the peace" in the camp of social democracy (heretics, according to the concepts of the rightwing leadership) but its basic nucleus, it may be asserted that "democratic socialism" has not only cast off, so to speak, from Marxist shores but has also succeeded recently in mooring at a new landing stage and finding a new philosophy.

It is a question of so-called critical rationalism, the creator of which is usually declared to be the positivist K. Popper. How did he win over the theoreticians of social democracy? Inasmuch as his concept, which denies the possibility of established, assured knowledge and, consequently, of a prevision of prospects on the basis of revelation of the objective laws of social development, is an ideal philosophical basis for reformist teaching. In the words of P. Glotz, a leading theoretician of West German social democracy, "critical rationalism best corresponds to the tasks of reformism."<sup>12</sup>

It may appear strange that a doctrine which does not actually claim its own idea of the future has been chosen as the ideological basis of "democratic

socialism." But this is precisely the essence of social democratism, which fights shy of positive programs and limits its mission to a determination of methods of advancement into the little-known and completely unknown future.

This does not mean that the supporters of "democratic socialism" proclaim no goals at all. By no means. First, they put forward definite tasks for an improvement in this or the other aspect of social reality which can be accomplished by means of reforms, but which does not affect the foundations of the capitalist system. Second, speaking sarcastically about the communists on account of the alleged "utopianism" of their goals, the preachers of "democratic socialism" themselves put forward a perfectly definite action program which essentially repudiates traditional socialist slogans.

What are the specific tasks and the means of accomplishing them about which the documents of social democracy speak? A central issue of all socialism is the problem of ownership. The SPD's Godesberg program emphasizes that private ownership "has a right to protection and assistance to the extent that it does not prevent the creation of a just social arrangement." Were the period to have been placed here, it might have been supposed that it were a question of the gradual elimination of private ownership entirely in accordance with the traditional notion of the reformist path toward socialism. By no means, since further on the program proclaims free competition and free entrepreneurial initiative. The aspiration to continuous reforms in society and the state while retaining private ownership is also declared the "driving force of the party's actions"<sup>13</sup> in its new program adopted by the Dortmund congress in 1976. The program documents of other social democratic parties also point in the direction of the preservation of private ownership. Thus B. Kreisky states that the right of private ownership as "the highest manifestation of democracy" should be retained in the future also and that social democracy rejects Marx's thesis concerning the expropriation of the expropriators.<sup>14</sup>

Striving if not to justify, then to somehow explain the concern to preserve the abutments of the old society in economics and politics, Kreisky observes that it is not who owns the means of production which is of importance to "democratic socialism" but who controls them. This is a familiar argument, equally popular among the authors of convergence concepts and the theoreticians of "democratic socialism." In reality whoever owns also controls.

Let us now examine a second question: concerning power. We do not find on this score sufficiently clear-cut statements in a single social democratic program. It boils down, as a rule, to general deliberations on the subject of statehood and its positive and negative aspects and to an exposition of views on the desirability of this relationship or the other between the state and the economy, the state and the labor unions and the state and political parties. But, how, one wonders, is it possible to combine an assertion of the principles of justice and freedom with the preservation of a state which is bourgeois in nature, where the main levers of power are in the hands of monopoly capital?

The supporters of "democratic socialism" display their customary bifurcation and ambivalence on the question of the state and an aspiration to please simultaneously different interests, which are frequently of opposite directions, and different social forces. And this is the result: upon reading the SPD's program document it has to be concluded that the so-called rule-of-law state created in the FRG after World War II is virtually the crown of creation and the ideal political instrument with which it is possible to carry through the necessary reforms and lead society toward socialism. In other words, the social democratic interpretation of the state ignores the reality revealed by Marx and confirmed a thousand times in practice: the bourgeois state was and remains the instrument of the political domination of the bourgeoisie in general and of its leading monopoly stratum in particular.

Let us now take a look at how the concrete program goals of social democracy are formulated. In accordance with the program, they amount to freedom, justice and solidarity. If we turn to the "Fundamental Program of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark," it is recorded: "The goal of democratic socialism is the liberation of man and his confidence (in the future) and free development with a simultaneous awareness of responsibility to the community of people."<sup>15</sup>

How are the paths of the achievement of these goals concretized? The SPD's program document points out that in the FRG the social democrats are struggling primarily for the accomplishment of the following tasks: to maintain the level of spiritual and political freedoms which has been achieved and develop them further; secure a development of the economy which is freer from fluctuations and which has at the same time a growing quality of goods and services; modernize the economy and equalize its structure and regional arrangement; put the distribution of power in the economic sphere under society's supervision; and so forth.

Obviously, in striving for a consistent and radical solution of all these important tasks it may be possible to indeed arrive at the assertion of socialist principles in social life. But the question arises: how is it possible, say, to secure for each person a job consonant with his capabilities (that is, eliminate unemployment completely) while preserving the capitalist system with its inherent production anarchy? Or: how to secure equal opportunities for free development under conditions where 2-3 percent of the population owns half the national property, while the remainder accounts for the other half, and sometimes even less? How to erect the edifice of a society of social justice without encroaching on the foundation of the old social order--private ownership and the power of capital? Surely not by means of reforms calculated for a period of 500 or 1,000 years?

According to the Italian socialist C. Maurizi, "in the ideological plans the position of all the European socialist parties is identical: they have emasculated their great designs with endless compromises and, at best, have preserved a program which has to be constantly revised to replace that

which has been stolen by opponents or destroyed by time."<sup>16</sup> The program of contemporary social democracy (or of the doctrine of "democratic socialism") amounts to a series of reforms aimed at an improvement in this or the other aspect of capitalist reality, a certain "socialization" of the economy and the state and, ultimately, at a more efficient control of the capitalist economy than exercised by the bourgeoisie itself.

Of course, within the ranks of the social democratic movement there is also another trend which is quite persistent in its advocacy of a return to the revolutionary slogans of the complete abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the transfer of power to the working classes and an alliance with the communists in the name of the achievement of these goals. The split into right and left wings is almost a permanent characteristic of social democracy as an ideological-political current.

What, in consideration of this, are the prospects of the social democratic movement? In its most general form the answer could be the following. If social democracy gradually switches to revolutionary positions, it will have an important constructive role to play in the reorganization of society. If, on the other hand, the tune therein is called, as before, by the right wing and it limits its mission to a "sociotherapy" designed to prevent a change of socioeconomic formations, there will be nothing left to it other than to share the lot of capitalism itself.

"Democratic socialism" is not an answer to the problems confronting the workers movement at the end of the 20th century. It is a departure from the answer.

2

There are situations in history when social movements are not in a position to foresee their historical prospects, and they have to operate blindly and take risks. In this case the situation is entirely different. We live in an era wherein it has been proven by the entire course of events that the transition from capitalism to socialism is inevitable. Under these conditions preaching a policy of "small steps" and abandoning the strategic aims of the workers movement means consciously or unwittingly deceiving it and deceiving oneself.

How, then, can we explain the stubborn aspiration of rightwing socialists to cling to manifestly compromised ambivalent slogans? A kind of consistency and loyalty to the behests of the opportunist figures of the Second International? Yes, ideological tradition indisputably plays a considerable part in the views of the theoreticians of social democracy, and a number of the theses they propound goes back to the works of K. Kautsky and E. Bernstein, M. Adler and O. Bauer and H. Laski and L. Blum.

But, of course, the sources of opportunism are rooted not only in tradition. And not only in an underestimation of the possibilities of socialism. They are rooted to the same extent in an overestimation of the resources of



capitalism. The situation that has taken shape in the developed capitalist countries in the postwar decades has exerted a tremendous influence on the formation of the policy of contemporary social democracy.

Under the conditions of the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, when the monopoly bourgeoisie has had to resort to extreme measures to survive in the competition with the world socialist system, it is becoming increasingly profitable for it to transfer power to the social democratic parties, on condition, of course, that they undertake not to infringe private ownership. This "ceding" of power, of course, is not very beneficial to the latter if it coincides with periods of unfavorable economic conditions, which, incidentally, has repeatedly been the case (on each occasion here social democratic governments have paid with a loss of votes at elections and have been forced into opposition).

But in the 1960's and 1970's there was a certain economic boom in a group of developed capitalist states. This relative prosperity, which was presented by imperialist propaganda as the immanent state of modern capitalism "undergoing reforms," had, in particular, the following ideological-political consequences: it strengthened the rightwing socialists in their admiration for the private-enterprise economy; instilled in them confidence that the era of the rule of social democracy on the basis of its traditional program of class collaboration was at hand; and linked in the eyes of appreciable strata of the population of the developed capitalist countries a certain increase in the living standard with this program and thereby contributed to an increase in the influence of the socialist and social democratic parties.

Has the policy of social democratic governments brought closer the embodiment of the ideals of socialism? The example of the Swedish social democrats' 40 years of control of the country provides a negative answer. Sweden remains a country with a distinctly expressed capitalist economic structure. Some 17 groups of monopoly capital control enterprises here at which one-fifth of those employed in the private sector work. And the private sector controls 94 percent of industry as a whole. Two-thirds of share capital is owned by persons constituting 0.2 percent of the entire population. "It may confidently be claimed," the American historian L. Hufford writes, "that in 'thriving' Sweden business's freedom of action has been preserved inviolate."<sup>17</sup> The social democrats' many years in power had the effect of reinforcing the existing social system.

The increasingly apparent manifestation of the incurable defects of capitalism and the need for social transformations are to a certain extent limiting the social democrats' chances of holding on to power in the forthcoming period. Disappointed with the policy of the rightwing socialists, appreciable strata of the working people are withholding their support from them at elections, to which the experience of the British Laborites graphically testifies. Under these conditions many social democrats, primarily, naturally, those belonging to the left wing, have sounded the alarm, demanding a more radical action program corresponding to the cherished aspirations of the working class and other working strata of the population.



It is important to emphasize that the demands for changes can far from be accommodated within the framework of the adjustments which have been made to the social democratic parties' propagandist tactics throughout the post-war period. Nor can they be satisfied in some "seasonal" fluctuations of political policy connected with these parties' position in the "government-opposition" system at every given moment. Internal criticism of the program documents, particularly the reformist theses which count on the preservation of capitalism, has broadened. The aggravation of its internal contradictions and an increase in the social and political activeness of the working class, which is striving to insure that social democracy defend its positions more consistently, is forcing its leaders to change their positions somewhat. The recent statements of Brandt, Palme and social democratic figures in which they acknowledge the crisis state of capitalism, the need for essential transformations of the social structure and so forth are typical in this respect.

In a foreword to the book "Brief History of the Socialist International," which was put out in 1977 by the SPD leadership in the series "Theory and Practice of German Social Democracy," W. Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, highlights "four most important tasks" currently confronting international social democracy: first, "consolidating world peace for a long time"; second, "regulating North-South relations such as to wipe out the profound gap between the poor and rich countries and afford people the opportunity of living without hunger"; third, "maintaining programs in a period of world economic difficulties in the industrial countries and accomplishing a breakthrough in social democracy"; and, fourth, securing "human rights throughout the world."<sup>18</sup>

We will turn later to the first question posed by Brandt. Let us dwell on the second. The parties united in the Socialist International pay particular attention to spreading their ideology and policy in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. In recent years this question has been a subject of examination at virtually all congresses of the Socialist International, and various delegations and individual "missionaries" from the social democrats have literally inundated the zone of the liberation movement, recommending that local figures equip themselves with the ideas of "democratic socialism" prepared for and made to fit the requirements of the developing countries.

Inasmuch as social democratic reformism was having a poor response in former colonies and dependent countries, where urgent questions of anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolution were on the agenda, the following strategy was chosen: form from political currents close to the Socialist International regional associations which would conduct the appropriate propaganda and gradually extend their influence. The first attempt was made in Asia (in 1963); the "Asian Socialist Conference" set up at that time broke up in the mid-1960's. The second was made in May 1976 in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, at a conference of leaders of social democratic parties of West Europe and Latin America. Finally, there was a meeting in Dakar in

1977 of representatives of a number of African parties (of Senegal, Tunisia and others) to proclaim the "African Socialist International." However, the draft charter failed to win general approval, and the unification of Africa's socialist parties was postponed.

As can be seen, the leaders of social democracy are exerting tremendous efforts to convert the Socialist International from a predominantly West European to a world ideological-political center. The success of these efforts in the future will be linked to a decisive extent with the possibility of adapting the doctrine of "democratic socialism" to the needs of countries which are poorly developed economically.

The programs of the social democratic parties of the former metropolis and documents of the Socialist International contain declarations to the effect that capitalism has suffered a fiasco in its approach to international economic problems, that the old system has discredited itself, that new, socialist solutions are necessary to surmount underdevelopment and so forth. But from all these slogans no integral concept evolves concerning the path of advancement toward socialism under the distinctive conditions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nor could one evolve for the doctrine of "democratic socialism" is in its essence oriented toward developed capitalism and its refinement by way of reforms. It is incapable of serving as the theoretical instrument of the revolutionary transformation of backward socio-economic structures.

Certain ideologists of social democracy quite frankly acknowledge that "democratic socialism" is in practice a synonym for "Eurosocijalism" and has no chance of becoming the prevailing ideology in the liberation movement. But the movement's rightwing leaders are by no means disposed to wait until their theoreticians invent a "universal demosocialism" and are hastening to seize beachheads on all continents. And, unfortunately, this activity, which is accompanied by a verbal condemnation of capitalism, is proving to be directed primarily against Marxist-Leninist ideology.

A judgment may be formed in this connection from the following extract from a resolution on the political position of the Eighth Socialist International Congress: "Insofar as socialism restores to man the role of which he has been deprived as a result of oppression and attacks on the part of capitalism and communism, socialism is the sole possible common position for all oppressed peoples.... Only democratic socialism can realize mankind's profoundest aspirations."<sup>19</sup> We are already familiar with the claim to a so-called "third path." It bespeaks the clear intention of the rightwing circles of contemporary social democracy to spread the political struggle against the communists to new spheres.

Let us now examine the thesis of the "breakthrough of social democracy." In the book "Democratic Socialism. Its Self-Evident Nature and its Relationship With Marxism" Linz University (FRG) Rector R. Wohlgenannt ascribes to the working class of the industrially developed Western countries the

conviction that in a revolutionary outburst it risks losing something more than its chains. For this reason it is allegedly "not disposed to put what has been achieved at risk, but believes it necessary to struggle for the further improvement of its position without civil wars and upheavals." The author writes of a certain "direct democracy" which is allegedly blazing a trail for itself in the Western states. It is precisely in this, in his opinion, that the concept of "democratic socialism" is proving increasingly attractive to the masses.<sup>20</sup>

Why, the social democrats ask, do the communists unfailingly want revolutions, which are accompanied by great human sacrifices, which can lead to civil wars and devastation and which have a negative effect on the state of the production forces? It is not because they are incapable of comprehending the meaning of the changes that have occurred as a result of the scientific-technical revolution and the progress of capitalist societies and are in thrall to outdated ideas of the possibility of progress under modern conditions? No, not for this reason, we reply, but only because no reform, under any circumstances, is capable of accomplishing the tasks accomplished by revolution. The whole question amounts, to put it crudely, to what goal is being set: if it is a question of perfecting the existing system, reforms should be carried out, but if, on the other hand, it is a question of its fundamental transformation, it is necessary to assist the preparation and accomplishment of revolution. There is no third course.

The supporters of contemporary reformism display a striking blindness each time they embark on a discussion of the correlation between revolution and reform and particularly when they interpret this aspect or the other of the teaching of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin in a negative plane. This is manifested primarily in the artificial counterposing of revolution and reform. Artificial because these concepts or, more correctly, the real forms of social development for which they stand, are incapable of being replaced by one another. A reform can under no conditions become a revolution for it is precisely a reform. A reform which leads to a revolutionary change of power and ownership relations would thereby alter its own essence.

Revolution is nothing other than: a) the transition of power from the hands of one class to the hands of another; and b) a change in the form of ownership accompanying this transition or representing its subsequent goal.

Socialist revolution is the transition of power from the hands of the bourgeoisie to the hands of the working class and the working people and the transfer of the basic means of production from private ownership to public ownership.

Where these conditions are observed, there is revolution; where they do not exist, however many radical phrases may be pronounced on this score, it can only be a question of reform. Thus it is by no means a matter of path by which the transition of power and the conversion of the form of ownership occurs. Yet it is precisely this which the reformists are unwilling to understand or, rather, give the appearance of not understanding.

The difference between a revolt as a form of revolutionary coup and revolution itself as a radical transformation of the entire social system and the transition from one socio-economic formation to another must today be sufficiently clear to every realistic person. This transition is by necessity accomplished with the aid of force where the revolutionary class and its allies are opposed by a reactionary class capable of employing violence. It may be accomplished by a peaceful path where the correlation of forces evolves so far to the benefit of the revolutionary classes that the departing social forces, however they may gnash their teeth upon forfeiting their privileges and leaving the helm of power, are not in a position to employ violence and bring weapons into play and are forced to reconcile themselves with the inevitability of the changes.

Marxism-Leninism not only permits but, on the contrary, considers preferable the transition of power to the working class and, consequently, the possibility of the accomplishment of revolutionary transformations by the peaceful path and with the aid of all means, be they universal suffrage and the legislative intention of parliament or a general strike capable of leading to the formation of a revolutionary government and thereby initiating the revolutionary process.

It is known that in joining the October Revolution the Russian proletariat and its communist vanguard were gambling on its peaceful development. Indeed, it is quite absurd to say that the workers and working people wishing to be the masters of all the social resources created by their labor could be interested in destruction, civil war and so forth. Violence is always imposed by counterrevolution, which was shown for the umpteenth time by the experience of Chile.

With any method of the seizure of power, peaceful or nonpeaceful, this very act is by no means conceived of by Marxist-Leninist theory as the start of an "automatic" transition to socialism and communism. It is only the start of great and prolonged work to transform all aspects of social relations. And this work has nothing in common, moreover, with an attempt to artificially impose an abstract ideal on reality, of which the social democrats accuse the communists. It represents a historical action in conformity with the laws of social development--otherwise the failure of all proletarian revolutions would be inevitable.

Reform is an action in the interests of an improvement and refinement of this or the other component of the social mechanism not infringing its foundations. Nor can revolution manage without reform; after the seizure of power, the victorious class achieves its manifold goals by a series of reforms sometimes planned for decades. This applies even more to the socialist revolution, which does not confine itself to the task of building socialism but sets itself the far more long-term and complex task of building communism.



It is perfectly understandable that it is impossible to manage here without reforms, which are implemented as the conditions essential for the accomplishment of this major task or the other ripen. Such reforms make it possible to remove undesirable vestiges of the past and break through to new levels of social progress.

3

Despite the fact that all the program documents and political statements couple the present and future of social democracy with the fate of such imperialist organizations as the North Atlantic Alliance, the Socialist International has occupied a positive position, in the main, with respect to the process of the relaxation of international tension. In addition, a number of its prominent leaders (Brandt, Schmidt, Kreisky, Palme, Wilson and Sorsa) proved to be among the most sober-minded Western statesmen who supported the transition from the "cold war" to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the world arena.

It hardly needs to be proved that in our era, when the aspiration to peace and an understanding of the catastrophe with which the unleashing of a new world thermonuclear war would be linked is embracing increasingly broad strata of the population of the capitalist countries, this foreign policy orientation of social democracy gives it reason to count on the support of broad strata of the working people. In any event, it can be boldly asserted that a significant proportion of the electoral body of the social democrats is formed precisely from the supporters of peace, who vote for them inasmuch as they know that these parties have a chance of coming to power and that in the main questions of foreign policy they will adhere to more or less realistic positions.

The intensification of such trends in the implementation of the foreign policy course of West European social democracy is not least a reflection of the urgent demands of the workers movement and the growth in the influence of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The foreign policy initiatives of the communist parties and the socialist community countries aimed at the strengthening of peace and against the arms race, which have had a tremendous international response, could not have left the social democrats impartial either. A reflection of this was, in particular, the creation of a Socialist International working group on disarmament (1978). At the start of October 1979 this group, headed by Kalevi Sorsa, eminent figure of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and with the participation of B. Carlsson, general secretary of the Socialist International, and other figures, visited Moscow. The delegation leaders declared that they regarded their visit as a kind of dialog between socialists and communists on the question of disarmament, which is a cause of serious common concern. As is known, the Socialist International working group was received by L. I. Brezhnev.



Unfortunately, inconsistency and a readiness to submit to pressure from conservative forces are also manifested in the social democratic leadership's policy on such a vitally important issue as counteraction to the arms race. This was shown once again by its position in connection with NATO's plans to install new American medium-range missiles in Europe.

The authority of the CPSU's policy in the international arena and the force of the example of real socialism are growing in our time. As M. A. Suslov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has emphasized, "whence the furious attacks on Marxism-Leninism. Whence also the considerable resuscitation of all kinds of bourgeois and petit bourgeois falsifications of Marxism-Leninism and the appearance of increasingly new and subtle revisionist and reformist interpretations of Marxism. They are all ultimately aimed at discrediting the experience and achievements of real socialism."<sup>21</sup>

Communists, who are the initiators of cooperation with the social democrats, by no means close their eyes to the existing ideological differences. On the contrary, the policy of unity of action presupposes an active struggle to overcome the reformist illusions and anticommunist prejudices in the social democrat masses. Communists believe that cooperation is not only possible in the struggle for peace. "...The fundamental interests of the working class and all working people demand the surmounting of the barriers barring the path of collaboration and complicating the struggle of the working people's masses against monopoly capital and reactionary and conservative forces."<sup>22</sup>

The communist parties have become an influential international force. Their strength has increased, and a growing number of voters is voting for communists at elections to parliament and local authorities. Social democratic theoreticians, however, are not disposed to attach great significance to this factor. They comfort themselves with the fact that the increased influence of the communists is only perceptible in certain countries (primarily in Italy and France) and that although the communist parties have advanced in a number of other European states also and have their own parliamentary factions (in Belgium, Sweden and others, for example), they have not yet become a force without regard for whose opinion it is impossible to determine state policy.

Indeed, this is the situation as yet. But only as yet for the objective course of events inexorably leads to the leftward movement of the masses, although, perhaps, not always in rectilinear manner but through some cyclical, reflexive moments. For this reason there may be no doubt that the authority of the communist parties will increase.

A not very wide choice is opened to the social democratic movement: either to enter an alliance with the communists or to compete with them in the workers movement. The interests of the working class demand realization of the first possibility--a truly strong, program-based alliance of communist and social democratic parties aimed at a solution of the urgent

problems of social life and the transformation of capitalist practices. The split in the workers movement has been the principal reason why capitalism has been able to prolong its very existence for decades. Surmounting this split remains the principal task of the present day, and the future of both Europe and all mankind will largely depend on this.

And what is social democracy's position on this question? It may be said that in conformity with its tradition of pragmatic actions it has not formulated any positive program line; the Socialist International has officially laid down the practice according to which each party decides in according to how it itself sees it and decides it simply: where this is beneficial to them, the social democrats enter into an alliance with the communists, where, on the other hand, they can manage without them, they occupy, as a rule, anti-communist positions.

Unfortunately, it has to be stated that even today the stronger current in social democracy is intent on preventing with all means the establishment of truly equal cooperation with the communists. True, the representatives of this current were even quite recently quite unwilling to even hear about any cooperation and anathematized any member of their party who aspired to this, but now, however, they have been forced at least not to deny the possibility of such cooperation in the future. But what conditions are put forward here?

In an interview under the heading "Three Pieces of Evidence I Require From Berlinguer" O. Palme "requires": 1--renunciation "of the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat and recognition of the pluralist state and bourgeois freedoms"; 2--renunciation of proletarian internationalism; and 3--renunciation of democratic centralism, which "is nothing other than an elitist concept of politics."<sup>23</sup>

There is even less standing on ceremony in this respect by B. Kreisky, who "lectures" that if the communists wish to become real democrats, they must cast aside not only the dictatorship of the proletariat; their entire political credo must disappear in its wake. "Then there would be nothing left of the communists and they would become social democrats speaking a somewhat more revolutionary language."<sup>24</sup>

Responding to attacks on the part of the social democrats and other enemies of communism, E. Berlinguer, general secretary of the party, said at the 15th Italian Communist Party (PCI) Congress that they would like the PCI to depart from its communist line, forfeit its inherent character and change its policy. "They understand the PCI's independence," he emphasized, "only as a rupture with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is an unacceptable theory. It is absurd to demand of us that we lop off our own roots and renounce the link with the October Revolution and the accomplishments and ideas of Lenin, whence the Italian working class derived the impetus to create and build its own revolutionary party."<sup>25</sup>

It is also obvious that the categorical demands made of the communists on the part of the social democrats do not attest too great wisdom. It is not necessary to possess a great theoretical mind to realize that even if some people deemed it possible to submit to the diktat of Kreisky and his fellow thinkers and renounced the very essence of their world outlook, this would change nothing inasmuch as the communist movement exists and is strengthening, and the social democratic parties will not succeed in absorbing it under any circumstances.

It is perfectly natural that no serious cooperation can develop on such conditions. But, despite such stubbornness on the part of rightwing socialists and the attempts to cling to anticommunist fetishes, the process of leftward movement as a whole is cutting the ground from under the feet of unnatural "social democratic anticommunism." Life itself and the logic of the struggle against capital will inexorably push the left forces toward unification.

Social democracy is faced, however, with overcoming not only the negative attitude toward collaboration with the communist parties in their own countries but also with reexamining their denial of the experience of real socialism. Only on this condition would a really major and serious turnabout in the social democratic movement make itself felt.

Holding to the standpoints of a bourgeois interpretation of democracy, the rightwing social democrats are incapable of appreciating the significance of the fundamental, decisive turnabout in the position of the working people's masses which was accomplished as a result of the October Revolution and the subsequent development of the socialist social system in the USSR and a number of other countries. Nor have they been able to adequately appreciate the significance of the progress achieved as the result of the creation of developed socialism. Finally, they wrongly evaluate the resources of socialism: after all, the communist and workers parties ruling in the socialist states have never declared that the "ceiling" in the development of democracy has been reached, on the contrary, they are striving for the continuous further extension of the sovereignty of the people and the enrichment of the social rights and political liberties of the individual.

If we consider the content of the doctrine of "democratic socialism," then, as we have seen, it contains, despite all the weakness of their conceptual design, certain hints at the ultimate goals advanced by the Marxist-Leninist theory of communism. These are the free development of the personality, equality (or justice, as the supporters of "democratic socialism" say) and fraternity (that is, that same internationalism against which Palme protests, putting forward as a counterweight the slogan of solidarity).

But given that this is so, the fundamental difference in the methods of their achievement remains. And the entire heart of the matter lies in the fact that, oriented toward the automatic (at best, with the aid of "social engineering") growth of capitalism into socialism, the social democrats essentially renounce struggle for the ultimate goals of the workers movement.

From the theoretical viewpoint the very concept of "democratic socialism" fails to withstand criticism for socialism in its true meaning can only be democratic. The experience of real socialism precisely testifies that wherever and whenever violations of socialist democracy have occurred, the reasons for these have been the weakness and immaturity of socialist social relations, the inadequate development of the economic and political system of the new society and the absence of corresponding traditions. In other words, it is possible to speak of different conditions and forms of the assertion of socialist principles, but attempts to elevate these differences to an absolute and artificially separate the tree of socialism (in theory and practice) into two opposite branches are utterly wrong.

As B. N. Ponomarev observes, the leadership of the social democratic parties is now squarely confronted with the question of bringing its activity into line with the commands of the era. This choice boils down to occupying a place on the side of the forces of democracy and peace and against the forces of international reaction and war; putting an end to anti-Sovietism and anticommunism; recognizing the irreconcilability of the interests of labor and capital; and acting together with the liberation movement of the peoples against neocolonialism.<sup>26</sup>

"Democratic socialism" does not represent any real alternative to scientific socialism. In the more or less distant future this doctrine is destined to disappear, and the rational ideas which it possessed will be integrated into the science of socialism and communism. As far as the movement behind this doctrine is concerned, it must make its own choice: either to proceed together with history toward the revolutionary solution of the urgent problems of contemporary society or to hold to reformist positions and, consequently, sooner or later to stand apart from the objective historical process.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Material of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, pp 32-33.
2. "Weiterarbeiten am Modell Deutschland. SPD-Regierungsprogramm. 1976-1980," Hrg: Vorstand des SPD, Bonn, 1976, p 12.
3. See W. Brandt, B. Kreisky, O. Palme, "Briefe and Gespraechе 1972 bis 1975," Frankfurt-am-Main-Cologne, 1975, p 20.
4. See *ibid.*, p 36.
5. G. Wuthe, H. Junker, "Demokratischer Sozialismus. Im Gedenken an Willi Eichler" in "Demokratische Gesellschaft. Konsensus und Konflikt," Ed. I, Munich-Vienna, 1975, p 136.
6. "Kritischer Rationalismus und Sozialdemokratie," B. e.a., 1975, p 311.



7. W. Brandt, B. Kreisky, O. Palme, Op. cit., p 29.
8. F. Mitterrand, "Presentation" in "Changer la vie. Programme de Gouvernement du Parti socialiste," Paris, 1972, p 10.
9. See J. M. Borzeix, "Mitterrand lui meme," Paris, 1973, p 207.
10. G. Wuthe, H. Junker, Op. cit., p 142.
11. Ibid., p 140.
12. P. Glotz, "Der Weg der Sozialdemokratie," Vienna, 1975, p 69.
13. "Weiterarbeiten am Modell Deutschland. SPD-Regierungsprogramm. 1976-1980," p 23.
14. See B. Kreisky, "Aspekte des Demokratischen Sozialismus," Munich, 1974, p 112.
15. Quoted from "Demokratiet--vor vey tit sozialismen," Copenhagen, 1975, p 5.
16. CRITIKA SOZIALE (Milan) No 1, 1975, p 622.
17. L. Hufford, "Sweden: the Myth of Socialism," London, 1976, p 1.
18. See K.-L. Guensche, K. Lantermann, "Kleine Geschichte der Sozialistischer Internationale," Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1977, pp 8-9.
19. "13th Socialist International Congress," Geneva, 1976. "Revolution on International Economic Solidarity," Ibid., 1977, vol 27, No 1, p 32.
20. See R. Wohlgenannt, "Der Demokratische Sozialismus. Sein Selbstverstaendis und Verhaeltnis zum Marxismus," Vienna-Forum, 1978, pp 98-99, 203.
21. PRAVDA, 17 October 1979.
22. "Konferentsiya kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy. Berlin, 29-30 iyunya 1976 goda" [Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. Berlin, 29-30 June 1976], Moscow, 1977, p 21.
23. ESPRESSO (Rome), No 26, 1976, p 43.
24. DER SPIEGEL, April 1977.
25. PRAVDA, 4 April 1979.
26. See B.N. Ponomarev, "Faced With a Historical Choice," KOMMUNIST No 17, 1976, p 43-44.

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## REGIONAL

### IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC DECREE IN THE CAUCASUS

#### Azerbaijan CC Decree on Economic Mechanism

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 9 Feb 80 p 1

Decree: "On the Tasks of Party, Soviet and Economic Organizations of the Republic on Carrying Out the Decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism—Decree of the Plenum of the CC of the Azerbaijan Communist Party for 4 Feb 80"

Text The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party noted that the decree of the CC CPSU "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and Tasks of the Party and Government Organizations" and the decree of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism Upon Improving the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work" were welcomed and approved by communists and all workers of the republic. These documents which are of general-party and government significance signify the qualitatively new stage in the development of the socialist economy, are a bright expression of the constant concern of the Communist Party and Soviet Government for the further strengthening of the power of our motherland, and for improving the well-being of the Soviet people.

The Decrees of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers which were developed in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, the Plenums of the CC CPSU, the statutes of the USSR Constitution, speeches of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev contain a complex program for improving the planned management of the economy, are directed at bringing planning and management in accordance with the demands of the present stage of developed socialism, to ensure a significant increase in the efficiency of production and quality of work, to make scientific-technical progress more rapid as well as the growth of the productivity of labor, to achieve high final national economic results, and the further development of democratic foundations in production management and improving creative initiative of labor collectives.

The November (1979) Plenum of the CC CPSU, the speech made at the Plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev demonstrated with new strength the vitality and deeply scientifically based economic strategy of the party for ensuring a successful progress of the Soviet people towards communism. As a result of the consistent implementation of the party line towards realizing a change towards a more complete utilization of intensive and qualitative factors of growth, on strengthening planning foundations in economic management, the economic potential of the nation grew immeasurably as did its authority in the international arena.

In a single national economic complex in the nation, the economy of the Azerbaijan SSR is developing dynamically, strongly, and rapidly. During the last ten years the national income more than doubled, the production potential increased by a factor of 2.2. One hundred and twenty new large-scale enterprises and production facilities were built and put into operation. The gross output of agriculture increased by a factor of 2.1. The further growth in the material and cultural level of life for the workers has been ensured. In comparison to 1969 the average monthly salary of workers increased by 33 percent, wages paid to kolkhoz workers--by 83 percent, and public funds of consumption--by 1.8-fold. Fourteen million square meters of housing and a large number of projects intended for social and social amenities use were put under construction.

In the republic mass-political and organizational work has begun, directed at the practical implementation of the party and state decrees concerning improving the economic mechanism. Individual regulations of the decrees were reflected in a plan for economic and social development in 1980. In the party committees, ministries and branches, and labor collectives, preparatory work is being carried out towards transferring to a new system of management and on a number of enterprises as an experiment, it has already been put into practice.

Along with this, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party noted that in issues concerning planning management of the economy of the republic, significant deficiencies exist. The necessary balancing between the volume of production, existing capabilities, and material-technical and labor resources are absent. Infringements of the plan and state discipline are allowed. The work being conducted on transferring to a new system of management is inadequate.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party decrees:

1. Completely and fully approve, and apply in managing and towards the steadfast utilization of the Decree of the CC CPSU "On the Further Improvement of the Managerial Mechanism and Tasks of Party and State Organizations," the Decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving the Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism Upon Raising the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work."

In examining the measures noted by the party and government concerning the further improvement of the economic mechanism as a long-term development program of action, party, soviet and economic organizations, trade unions and komsomol organizations of the republic must direct the efforts of the workers towards its practical implementation, achieve a more complete utilization of resources and capabilities of a socialist economy, a satisfaction of the growing consumer and personal needs, and to ensure a new growth in the national economy of Azerbaijan.

It is necessary to secure the further thorough study of the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers in all links of the political and economic education, in the University of Marxism-Leninism of the CC of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, in courses and faculties for improving qualifications, and in schools of communist work and advanced experience. Upon studying these documents attention must be concentrated upon searching for and using the resources for improving indexes of the efficiency of production and quality of work.

2. The leaders of ministries, branches, associations and enterprises, primary party, trade union, komsomol organizations must develop and put into practice organizational, technical and economic measures directed towards ensuring the reorganization of planning and management, direct particular attention to the comprehensive strengthening of planning, technological and labor discipline, improving the productivity of labor, hastening the implementation into production of scientific and technical achievements of progress and advanced experience, intensifying the economic system, and improve the conditions of labor and everyday life. To ensure the active participation of workers, engineering and technical workers and employees in developing projects of annual, five-year as well as coming plans are being widely developed in socialist competition for improving the efficiency and quality of work.

3. The Council of Ministers, Gosplan, ministries and branches of the republic, the Council of Ministers of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR, the executive party committees of the NKAO [expansion unknown], city and rayon Councils of the People's Deputies in light of the demands of the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers to develop and put into practice measures which ensure the following:

--Improvement in the organization of planning work, raising the balance and scientific basis of the plans, strengthening their influence on all aspects of economic activity, comprehensive solution to economic and social problems, rational combination of branch and territorial development, perspective and current plans, improvement of inter-branch and intra-branch proportions;

--Hastening the development of the indicated special purpose programs of scientific-technical progress, distribution of production powers, further development of the fuel energy complex, improving the well-being and social-cultural level of life for the people, rational utilization of natural resources, and protection of the environment;

--Further intensification and development of profit and loss accounting, improving the role of economic levers and stimuli, improving the organization of labor, the efficient utilization of production funds, material, labor and financial resources;

--To improve the organizational structure of management, create territorial inter-branch production facilities, complete the process of forming production, scientific-production, agrarian-industrial associations as a fundamental profit and loss accounting link.

Upon carrying out the work on improving the economic mechanism, particular attention should be given to the modern preparation towards the step-by-step transfer of the ministries, branches and enterprises towards a new system of planning indicators and evaluation of the results of work on a purely quota production system.

4. The Gosplan, Gosstroy, construction ministries and branches, oblast committees, city committees, rayon committees of the party, the Council of Ministers of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR, executive committees of the NKAO, city and rayon Councils of the People's Deputies must put into practice definite measures on improving the planning of capital construction, raising the effectiveness of capital investments, concentration of resources on start-up construction sites, reducing the time periods for construction and speeding up the time in which production capacities and projects are put into operation, as well as those of social and social amenities intent, achieve complete balancing of the plans of construction with the capabilities of construction organizations, material, labor and financial resources. Speed up the work in transferring in the accounting of the clients and contractors for projects which are completely finished and put into operation. To expand the implementation of brigade contracts in construction.

5. The Gosplan, the Administration of the Azerbaijan Railway, the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Caspian Steam Navigation, the civil aviation association, party and soviet organizations must develop and put into practice definite measures for improving planning and economic stimulation of the activity of enterprises and organizations in all types of transportation, and ensure a clear coordination of these works. They must achieve a comprehensive improvement in the efficiency of the utilization of the rolling stock on the basis of more coordinated work with those sending and receiving loads, reducing the idle time of cars, vessels and vehicles.

6. The Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR, leaders and primary party organizations of branch scientific departments must concentrate their attention upon developing scientifically based projected plans for developing the economy of the republic, speed up the completion of transferring scientific-research, construction, projects and technological organizations to an economic system of organizing work. It is necessary to ensure the further implementation in the national economy of automated systems of management, more efficient use of computer technology.



7. The Gosstat of the republic must take measures for the further improvement of the material and technical supply of the national economy, in every way possible to strengthen the interrelationship between supplying organizations with production associations and enterprises, put into practice effective measures for improving the control of deliveries, put into practice advanced forms of organizing supply. To speed up the transfer of enterprises of industry and construction to a complex material-technical supply, delivering products via direct economic ties.

8. The oblast committees, city committees and rayon committees of the party, primary party organizations must intensify work in educating personnel in light of the tasks set by the party and government for improving the economic mechanism, put into practice new methods of managing production and evaluating the activity of the collectives. They must educate managers in socialist initiative, a feeling of newness in work, intolerance of stagnation and bureaucracy, a high level of organizational work, a creative attitude towards solving problems.

Party organizations of the ministries and branches of the republic must intensify control over the work of the apparatus, over putting into practice measures for improving the economic mechanism, implementing new evaluating indicators, strengthen work discipline, and improve the quality of managerial activity.

9. Newspaper and journal editors, the State radio and television broadcasting, and the State cinema must consistently and widely treat the work being conducted in the republic on the practical implementation of the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on improving the economic mechanism; they must expose the essence of the indicated measures for reconstructing the management and clearly show the definite results in the work of improving management and planning, improving the efficiency of national production and the quality of work.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party assures the Lenin CC CPSU, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, personally, that the party organization and all of the workers of Azerbaijan will apply their efforts and creative energy in order to successfully put into practice the measures developed by the party and government for improving planning and improving the economic mechanism, to expand more widely socialist competition for the successful implementation of the plans and obligations for 1980 and for the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole, for the worthy celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birthday of V. I. Lenin, the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Azerbaijan Communist Party, and they will mark Lenin's year with shock work, and will make a worthy contribution to the practical manifestation of the outlines of the party.



## Georgian CC on Implementation

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Improving the Economic Mechanism--Organizational and Ideological Provision"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party examine the issue concerning the organizational and political work of the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the Party in the city of Tbilisi on carrying out the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers concerning the further improvement of the economic mechanism.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party noted that the party organization of the Leninskiy Rayon in the city of Tbilisi has conducted considerable work in putting into practice the demands of the Decree of the CC CPSU "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and Tasks for Party and State Organizations" and the Decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving the Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism Upon Improving the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work."

In the rayon a comprehensive program with a singleness of purpose is being carried out on preparing enterprises and organizations for transferring to new methods of management. In order to coordinate this work, a special commission with branch labor groups which lead the activity of appropriate groups in the localities function under the rayon party committee. The accounts of party and managerial leaders of enterprises and organizations concerning the work done in reorganizing the economic mechanism are examined at bureaus of the party committee of the rayon meetings as well as at meetings of labor commissions.

All of the organizational activity of the party committee of a rayon on the decisions of the party and government in the area of improving the economic mechanism is being conducted step-by-step, on a strict system basis: the first stage--preparatory work for the transfer; the second stage--the approval in the localities of suitable regulations of the new system, renewing planning indexes and criteria for evaluating the efficiency of management; the third stage--their implementation at enterprises and organizations.

In the first stage of the organizational work for reorganizing the planning and economic mechanism, most attention is devoted to the propaganda and explanation of fundamental regulations of the indicated decrees, summarizing their essence and importance by managerial personnel, party workers, and all workers of the rayon. The study of the decrees on improving the economic mechanism has been organized in all links of the political and economic education with wide participation of the ideological aktiv: lecturers, propagandists, agitators, political informers, editors of newspapers and broadcasting, and others. Close business-like ties have been

established with economic scientific research departments of the republic, with the participation of leading specialists whose training is imposed upon the leaders of the economic, party, trade union and komсомol cadres.

Along with this, in the rayon under the leadership of party organizations, practical work has begun for putting into practice concrete measures in the area of improving planning and economic stimulation. Thus, the rayon party committee actively promotes the implementation of the team method of work organization.

As a result of this, certain experience has been gathered at the industrial enterprises of the rayon in developing and improving team forms of organization and labor stimulation with consideration for the fact that this form in the 11th Five-Year Plan must become fundamental. At the present time, 56 teams are working in this advanced method of economic labor organization at industrial enterprises of the rayon.

This valuable undertaking was widely supported by practically all enterprises of the rayon and is one of the effective forms of further development of the democratic foundations in managing production.

In the majority of the enterprises of the rayon, work has begun on compiling their certificates. In a number of collectives, they have approached planning and practical approval of the evaluation of work results according to new indicators. The experience of the organizational and political work conducted at the Elektrozolit Plant, in the production association of Stankostroitel', and at the sewing factory imeni 1 May, and others deserve attention.

The preparation for reorganizing planning and improving the economic mechanism at the rayon enterprises is accompanied by active searches for additional resources for production growth and for improving its efficiency. The bureau of the party rayon committee approved and all of the labor collectives supported the initiative of the sewing factory imeni 1 May workers—"In the Anniversary Year--Put All Resources of Production Into Operation!"

The industrial enterprises of the rayon revealed the resources for additional production output for 1980 consisting of a volume of 3.5 million rubles at the expense of a more complete utilization of operating production capacities and resources, and strengthening planning, technological and labor discipline.

However, the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party noted that in the work being conducted by the party organization of the Leninskiy Rayon in the city of Tbilisi on carrying out the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on improving the economic mechanism, there are shortcomings. Labor groups for conducting preparatory work in reorganizing the economic mechanism have not been created in all of the rayon enterprises. The plans of organizational, economic and mass-political measures of a

number of enterprises and organizations are not adequately definite and have a bureaucratic character. The necessary attention has not been given at all enterprises for the preparatory work on implementing a team method of labor organization and to planning a system of measures in the area of the social development of labor collectives.

The level of the technical-economic planning at industrial enterprises and in construction organizations is still low and the quality of the development of technical industrial and construction financial plans does not meet the new requirements everywhere. The style and method of an analytical economic work need essential improvement.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party on the whole favorably evaluated the work conducted by the party organization of the Leninskiy Rayon in the city of Tbilisi in carrying out the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on improving planning and improving the economic mechanism.

It has been recommended that the city and rayon committees of the Georgian Communist Party study the experience of the party organization and labor collectives of the Leninskiy Rayon of the city of Tbilisi on preparing for the reorganization of the economic mechanism and for ensuring its wide distribution in the appropriate regions, at enterprises and organizations with consideration for their particular features and the completion of all preparatory work basically in the course of 1980.

The Leninskiy Rayon committee of the Georgian Communist Party in the city of Tbilisi has been instructed to intensify organizational and mass political work on the practical realization of measures in the area of improving the economic mechanism, having given particular attention to the further formation of work on the experimental approval of new planning indexes and criteria for evaluating the labor results, for the more broad distribution of team forms of organization and labor stimulation, systems of intra-plant profit and loss accounting, development of certificates of enterprises and associations, systems of progressive technical-economic standards and norms, a system of measures in the area of the social development of labor collectives, as well as on the implementation of other principle participants and regulations for improving the economic mechanism.

The State Committee of the Georgian SSR on television and radio broadcasting has been instructed to organize a series of regular television broadcasts--consultations on issues of improving the economic mechanism with the participation of ministerial leaders and those of branches, enterprises and associations, leading specialists of appropriate branches of the national economy, party and soviet workers, scientists and others.

The State Committee of the Georgian SSR on Affairs of Publication, Polygraphy and Book Trade must ensure, beginning with 1980, the publication of a series of brochures using the Georgian language on issues of improving planning and strengthening the influence of the economic mechanism on improving the efficiency of production and the quality of work.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party noted a number of other organizational and political measures directed at the successful preparation of enterprises and organizations for the new method of management in the Leninskiy Rayon of the city of Tbilisi and in the republic as a whole.

#### Georgian Industry's Readiness

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and Council of Ministers--A Review of Great State Importance"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR announced a review of the preparedness of industrial enterprises, building an installation works, scientific research, and drawing and designing organizations in transferring to the new conditions of management.

It has been noted that the implementation of the Decree of the CC CPSU "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organizations" and the Decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers "On the Improvement of Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism Upon Improving the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work" requires that large-scale preparation work be carried out in all branches of the national economy of the republic, in enterprises and in the associations of industry, as well as in construction and other organizations.

It is necessary to bring the requirements presented in these documents to each worker--from the laborer to the director and minister, to determine such forms of work which will allow each worker better to understand his own participation in carrying out the established tasks, and in practice be convinced of the advantages of carrying out the measures developed by the CC CPSU and Soviet government on the further growth of the economy and the social development of labor collectives.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR decreed that in 1980 a republic review of the preparedness of industrial enterprises, construction and installation works, scientific research, and drawing and designing organizations for transferring to the new conditions of management be reviewed.

Time periods for the review have been determined.

The first stage includes the time period of 15 May to 15 June.

The second stage--from 15 October to 15 November.

Oblast committees, party committees, rayon committees of the party, ministerial and branch leaders of the republic have been instructed to ensure



that each worker of the collective participate in the review, that mutual checking for the preparedness of enterprises and organizations for transferring to the new conditions of management be organized. The review called for showing to what extent the requirements of the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers concerning the improvement of planning and the improvement of the economic mechanism are correctly and thoroughly understood by the workers.

According to the results of the review, it is recommended that the situation be summarized in various areas of the national economy, forms of encouragement be found for those who best organized the implementation of the measures indicated in the most important documents, and strictly demand of those who do not give the necessary importance to preparing enterprises for work in 1981 in accordance with the new demands.

The organization of the preparation, conduct and summing up of the review has been placed upon the republic labor group for carrying out the indicated decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers.

In the localities, the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the republic placed the implementation of this work on the oblast, city, and rayon labor groups. They have been instructed to include also working groups of the ministries, branches, enterprises and construction organizations into this work.

The chief condition for conducting the review is the strict adherence to the demands of the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on improving planning and improving the economic mechanism, the ability of the leaders and of all workers to analyze thoroughly the economic and social activity of enterprises and organizations according to new plan indicators and criteria of evaluation.

The level of preparedness of industrial enterprises, construction and installation works, scientific research and drawing and designing organizations in transferring to the new conditions of management will be considered when carrying out the semi-annual and annual total of the republic socialist competition between the regions, ministries and branches of the Georgian SSR.

The means for mass communication are called upon to systematically illustrate the progress of preparing for the review, its conduct and its results.

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## REGIONAL

### NEW ESTONIAN LITERARY JOURNAL CRITICIZED

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian 17 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by E. Kekelidze and Ye. Skul'akaya: "The Journal TALLIN: Growth Problems"]

[Text] Nine volumes of the literary-art and sociopolitical journal TALLIN already have been published; the demand for it was apparent and its aims were clearly defined in the introductory editorial article: to more effectively acquaint the reader with what is new in Estonian Soviet literature and art that is worthy of note, and to attract the best creative energies of the republic and the critics, literary specialists and artistic craftsmen of Moscow, Leningrad and fraternal republics to the journal's work.

It appears that the time has come to examine the extent to which the journal is carrying out the tasks set before it. The time has come--because the journal's popularity now is not quite as great as we would like...

The journal consists primarily of prose. Estonian in translation and original-language. TALLIN has stimulated remarkable activity among the republic's Russian writers, who have finally received the opportunity for regular publication. The Russian prose of the republic has appeared before readers as both varied and interesting--the stories of G. Skul'skiy and B. Shteyn, the narrative of R. Titov, and an extract from the novel by G. Vasil'yev. Published works in TALLIN encouraged two broad discussions in the Union of Writers of the Estonian SSR on the works of Russian authors.

The situation is much more complicated with Estonian prose. TALLIN regularly reports in its news items section on the best works, acknowledged by readers and criticism and awarded literary prizes. Over the past year and a half they were the short stories of P. Kuusberg, T. Vint, A. Pyldmae and A. Valton; the novels of Ya. Kross, V. Ilus and Yu. (Peegel'); and the plays of Yuri Tuulik. A number of works gave rise to interesting controversy, artistic debuts took place, and new books by acknowledged masters were published.

It would have been natural to expect harmonious conformity between this news and the specific published works in the publication. Of course, the journal does not and cannot have the capability of presenting the reader with everything worthy of note, but the selection, it seems, certainly should have been made from the best works of prose.

The journal has acquainted the reader with a short extract of the novel "I sto smertey" [And a Hundred Deaths] by V. Beekman--a work which is important both in theme and conclusion; with a narrative by one of Estonia's leading prose-writers, P. Kuusberg; with a play by the complex and profound writer E. Vetemaa; and with short stories by popular and promising authors--T. Vint, M. Saat, and A. Pyldmyae. But those named still constitute a small part of the prose which has been published in the journal.

It is difficult to identify any clear system under which the rest of the works were selected for publication. Most of them reflect just the so-called average standard of literature, which cannot in any way provide a notion of its peaks.

We will not give a detailed analysis of short plays, the publication of which cannot be decisively significant. But in a year and a half the journal (generally avoiding large-scale, extensive works) published one long novel in two volumes of the publication. Why, out of the abundance of modern prose, was precisely this--"Zakon bol'shikh chisel" [The Law of Large Numbers] by R. Kaugver--chosen?

The novel deals with a collective of construction workers who are struggling for the title of communist labor brigade. Implying that the holder of this title is some kind of a sterile and perfect hero, the author writes as if he is comparing his real characters with him. The misguided nature [zadannost'] and unproductivity of the author's idea is obvious--living persons and controversial and complex characters (and they have always been the subject of literature) cannot and must not be confined to the Procrustean bed of an abstract ideal. And that is why the idea itself of such a "comparison" impels the author to a rather primitive separation of the characters' natures into "yes" and "no," "white" and "black," and "pluses" and "minuses." Most often the hero is "conspicuous" for one moral ailment, which also remains throughout the novel the principal distinguishing feature of the character. Thus from the very first pages of the novel, brigade leader Praost is endowed with an incredible ambition, his deputy Tyakhevyali is endowed with an incredible passion for profit (but invariably within the law), and honest plodder Sasa'yaan is endowed with incredible indifference to the success of the collective... Having given a "comprehensive" description of his heroes in this way, R. Kaugver concerns himself throughout the novel with just a collection of additional facts and examples to corroborate his postulates. We do not learn anything new about the heroes. They

learn nothing new about each other. And the metropolitan journalist who has come to write about the advanced brigade does not learn anything new about them, either.

However, there is no need to demonstrate that a description of static characters can also be dynamic and vivid. But the fact of the matter is that there are no dynamics in the novel's narrative, one episode virtually traces another, and the labels hung on the characters in the beginning continue hanging dismally to the end.

Rigidity of characteristics exists side by side with rigidity of dialog, and the intrinsic monologs of the heroes, whose confidences are confined to the triteness of the type: "He gave all his heart and soul to the work--he organized, arranged, and assisted"; "they still speak of her only with praise"; "work does not spoil a person, only a person can spoil work"; "work, and there will be money"; and "those who behave differently from the majority of people are considered odd."

The author builds his narrative in such a way that we can confidently predict the behavior of any hero in any situation. If there is a trade union meeting, the ambitious Praost, of course, is worried that he may not be chosen for the local trade union committee. If a journalist goes to visit Tyakhevyali, then of course he sees his palace of a house and the garden with hothouses, where flowers are grown for sale. If they try to attract the metropolitan journalist to their side with a tasty dinner, he, however, will inform them without delay about his adherence to principle, after ~~ending his dinner~~.

"Zakon bol'shikh chisel" was published in greatly abridged form, scarcely permissible in journalistic practice. However, in this case, the question of the abridgement permitted is of minor importance. First and foremost is another question--is the selection right for a single large published work?

The journal's tendency to allot so much space to works which need to be under the heading "Literary Heritage" at the expense of modern prose also seems controversial (we have in mind the narrative by Eduard Myannik "Mal'chishki-pazetchiki" Newsboys and a number of others, interesting works in principle). Unquestionably they have the right to be in the journal, but we will not forget that the main purpose of the publication is to acquaint the reader with the Estonian literature of today. And this task, as we see, is being carried out only to a small extent.

Selection of works of poetry also is unsystematic. Leading Estonian poets such as Debora Vaarandi, Ayn Kaalep and Arvi Siyg, for example, practically have not been represented in the journal's pages. A number of popular authors, little known or generally unknown to the Russian reader, also have not been represented in the journal. Of course, resolving this problem without the assistance of good translators (and we



have very, very few of them) is impossible. But who, if not a young journal, is to look for and discover them and attract them to collaborate?! The journal could, for example, hold a competition for the best literary translation, which unquestionably would stimulate the activity of beginning translators.

Literary criticism always holds a special place in a literary journal. The capacity of journal publication provides the opportunity to examine in detail both general trends and directions in the literary process and the work of individual writers. In the journal's nine volumes, literary criticism, strictly speaking, has been represented by just a few published works: V. Oskotskiy's "Mig i vechnost'" (on the work of Mats Traat), "Ob avtobiografichnosti..." by Ya. Kross (autobiographical character in the works of Taasmaare), K. Kurg's "Pyat' vzglyadov na tsennosti" and "Koordinaty obshchnosti" by N. Bassel'. There are issues in which literary criticism has not been represented at all! Modern Estonian literature is constantly the subject of attention from All-Union criticism, and the central journals direct attention to it as a whole and to the work of its individual representatives.

National criticism often explores new characteristics of the modern literary process, namely in the example of Estonian prose, rich with experimental, acutely modern, innovative works. Such leading Moscow critics as A. Bocharov, A. Marchenko, L. Anninskiy and many others have long written seriously about Estonian prose. Often their articles have been sharpened polemically and involve controversies which undoubtedly would have attracted the journal's readers.

The impression is being created that the journal is not bringing itself to occupy a definite position on controversial questions. Thus, for example, the controversy surrounding the short stories "Molodaya estonskaya proza" still has not ceased. A special discussion on this collection was held in Moscow by leading critics, and the Leningrad journal AVRORA, in preparing for Estonian Literature Days, dedicated a long analytical article to the book. The journal TALLIN, however, avoided all this controversy in silence.

However, the works of Estonian critics also remain outside the journal's field of vision. One would think that the Russian reader would be very interested in becoming familiar with the literary criticism articles by Khara'l'd Pyeep, for which he received the Yu. Smul prize last year, and with the works of Endel' Nirk and other leading literary critics of Estonia.

The reflection in the mirror of criticism of the work of Russian writers living in Estonia also deserves special mention. We do not have so many prose-writers and poets with several books to their credit. And why the journal has not once--not once!--made a serious analysis of their works is difficult to explain.

As far as the other sections of the journal are concerned, we could have discussed the individual successes of the publicism section (statements by leading workers of the republic, essays on working life, and travel sketches by V. Beekman), and the undeniable successes of the art section. But one must realize that the art section, even working splendidly, cannot resolve the journal's urgent problems.

They can be resolved only by interesting prose, keen problem-solving criticism and profound publicism. Simply stated, the journal must be interesting!

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USSR REPORT: Economic Affairs  
USSR REPORT: Construction and Equipment  
USSR REPORT: Military Affairs  
USSR REPORT: Political and Sociological Affairs  
USSR REPORT: Energy  
USSR REPORT: International Economic Relations  
USSR REPORT: Consumer Goods and Domestic Trade  
USSR REPORT: Human Resources  
USSR REPORT: Transportation  
USSR REPORT: Translations from KOMMUNIST\*  
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USSR REPORT: USA: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY\*

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USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Effects of Nonionizing Electromagnetic Radiation  
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Agrotechnology and Food Resources  
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WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality  
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